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# THE PALESTINE ORIENTAL SOCIETY

## JERUSALEM

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JOURNAL OF THE PALESTINE ORIENTAL SOCIETY

VOL. I



## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introductory Notice . . . . .	1
Constitution . . . . .	3
Reports of Meetings . . . . .	5
<hr/>	
ABEL, F.-M., O. P. La maison d'Abraham à Hébron . . . . .	138
ALBRIGHT, W. F. A Revision of Early Hebrew Chronology . . . . .	49
— A Colony of Cretan Mercenaries on the Coast of the Negeb . . . . .	187
BEN YEHUDAH, ELIEZER. The Edomite Language . . . . .	113
CANAAN, T. Haunted Springs and Water Demons in Palestine . . . . .	153
CLAY, A. T. The Amorite Name Jerusalem . . . . .	28
DECLOEDT, A. Note sur une monnaie de bronze de Bar Cochba . . . . .	25
EITAN, ISRAEL. Contribution à l'histoire du verbe hébreu . . . . .	42
— La répétition de la racine en hébreu . . . . .	171
GARSTANG, J. The Year's Work . . . . .	145
HADDAD, E. N. Blood Revenge among the Arabs . . . . .	103
— Political parties in Syria and Palestine . . . . .	209
IDELSON, A. Z. Hebrew Music with Special Reference to the Musical Intonations in the Recital of the Pentateuch . . . . .	80
LAGRANGE, Rév. Père. Inaugural Address . . . . .	7
MACKAY, E. J. H. Observation on a Megalithic Building at Bet Sawir (Palestine) . . . . .	95
MCCOWN, C. C. Solomon and the Shulamite . . . . .	116
PETERS, JOHN P. A Jerusalem Processional . . . . .	36
— Notes of Locality in the Psalter . . . . .	122
RAFFAELLI, SAMUEL. Two Ancient Hebrew Weights . . . . .	22
— A Recently Discovered Samaritan Charm . . . . .	143
— Classification of Jewish Coins . . . . .	202
SLOUSCH, NAHUM. Quelques observations relatives à l'inscription juive découverte à Ain Douk . . . . .	33
TOLKOWSKY, S. Metheg ha-Ammah . . . . .	195
WORRELL, W. H. Noun Classes and Polarity in Hamitic and their Bearing upon the Origin of the Semites . . . . .	15
YELLIN, DAVID. Some Fresh Meanings of Hebrew Roots . . . . .	10
— The Use of Ellipsis in "Second Isaiah." . . . .	132
<hr/>	
Notes and Communications . . . . .	215
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Reports of Meetings . . . . .	217
Report of the Treasurer of the Palestine Oriental Society . . . . .	221
Members of the Palestine Oriental Society . . . . .	222





# THE JOURNAL

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## PALESTINE ORIENTAL SOCIETY.

Vol. I.

OCTOBER, 1920

No. I.

### INTRODUCTORY NOTICE.

"The Palestine Oriental Society" owes its origin to the American Assyriologist, Dr. Albert T. Clay. During a year's residence in Palestine in the capacity of "Annual Professor of the American School of Archaeological Research in Palestine," it occurred to him that such a Society was not only possible and desirable, but might even play a useful part in the new epoch in the study of the antiquities of the Holy Land which was to be expected under a new and enlightened administration. Accordingly he called together in Jerusalem a representative gathering for the purpose of inaugurating a society which should have as its object the cultivation and publication of researches on the Ancient East.

At this preliminary meeting held on January 9th 1920 the following were present:—

Le R<sup>év.</sup> Père Abel, Professeur à l'Ecole Biblique de St. Etienne, Jerusalem.

Dr. W. F. Albright, Fellow and Instructor in Semitic Languages, John Hopkins University, Baltimore; Fellow of the American School of Archaeological Research in Palestine.

Mr. Eliezer Ben Yehudah, Editor of the *Thesaurus Totius Hebraicitatis et Veteris et Recentioris*.

Dr. A. T. Clay, Professor of Assyriology in Yale University; Annual Professor of the American School of Archaeological Research in Palestine.

The Archdeacon Cleophas, Greek Orthodox Patriarchate, Jerusalem.

Le R<sup>év.</sup> Père Cré, des Missionnaires d'Afrique, Jerusalem.

Capt. K. E. C. Cresswell, Late Inspector of Antiquities to the British Army of Occupation in Palestine.

The Rev. Herbert Danby, Senior Kennicott Hebrew Scholar in the University of Oxford; attached to St. George's Cathedral, Jerusalem.

Le R<sup>év.</sup> Père Declœdt, des Missionnaires d'Afrique, Jerusalem.

Capt. E. T. H. Mackay, Inspector of Antiquities to the British Army of Occupation in Palestine.

Le R<sup>év.</sup> Père Meistermann, des Franciscains de Terre-Sainte.

Major L. Nott, Military Governor of Tul-Karim, Palestine.

Le R<sup>év.</sup> Père Orfali, des Franciscains de Terre-Sainte.

The Rev. Dr. J. P. Peters, Professor in the University of the South. Lecturer in the American School of Archaeological Research in Palestine.

Monsieur Rais, Consul Général, Délégué du Haut Commissariat de France, Jerusalem.

Le R<sup>év.</sup> Père Savignac, Professeur à l'Ecole Biblique de St. Etienne, Jerusalem.

Dr. Nahum Slousch, Professor of New Hebrew Literature, the Sorbonne, Paris; Contributor to the *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*; Secretary of the Hebrew Archaeological Society.

Col. Ronald Storrs, C. M. G., C. B. E., Military Governor of Jerusalem.

Le Rév. Père Dhorme, Prieur du Convent des Dominicains; Professeur à l'Ecole Biblique de St. Etienne, Jerusalem.

Le Rév Père Leopold Dressaire, Supérieur des Pères Assomptionistes, Notre Dame de France, Jerusalem.

Dom Gregoire Fournier, Supérieur des Bénédictins du Mont Sion, Jerusalem.

The Rev. Dr. O.A. Glazebrook, United States Consul in Jerusalem.

Le Rév. Père Carrière, Professeur à l'Ecole Biblique de St. Etienne, Jerusalem.

Le Rév. Père Lagrange, Directeur de l'Ecole Biblique de St. Etienne, Jerusalem; Correspondant de l'Institut de France.

Le Rév. Père Vincent, Professeur à l'Ecole Biblique de St. Etienne, Jerusalem.

Maj. the Rev. P.N. Waggett, S. S. J. E. Political Officer, Palestine.

Dr. P. D'Erf Wheeler, Jerusalem Representative of the Palestine Exploration Fund.

Dr. W. H. Worrell, Professor of Phonetics and Instructor in Arabic and other Oriental Languages in the Kennedy School of Missions; Director of the American School of Archaeological Research in Jerusalem.

Mr. David Yellin, M.B.E. Director of the Hebrew Teachers' Seminary in Jerusalem; President of the Council of Jerusalem Jews.

The need, the attractiveness, and the importance of such a Society were convincingly urged by Dr. Clay. Although there had been for a long time, in Jerusalem and other parts of Palestine, learned representatives of various countries, societies and religious bodies, there had as yet existed no means whereby they could meet together for mutual criticism and stimulus. The results of their individual labours were normally unknown to fellow-workers in the same or kindred fields until published in isolated European and American periodicals. And, furthermore, nothing but good could follow from an increased facility of personal intercourse between scholars themselves, to say nothing of the opportunity offered to that very large number of people in Palestine and Syria (who, though not themselves professional students, always followed with keen interest the results of the various researches which were going on around them) of seeing and hearing men whose work had earned them in many cases a world-wide reputation.

The present moment seemed to be opportune and to hold out the best hopes for the success of such a venture. During Turkish rule Palestine was scarcely an open field for the archaeologist; those who tried to carry on such work were not many in number and usually laboured under many and tiresome disabilities. But now there was every prospect of the removal of most of these difficulties, and a large influx of scholars of various nationalities, with a common interest in archaeological investigations of all kinds, as well as a still larger number of those possessed of a very living interest in the results of such work.



## EXPOSE GENERAL.

Un certain nombre d'orientalistes réunis à Jérusalem sur l'initiative de M. le Dr. A. T. Clay, l'assyriologue américain bien connu, ont décidé de fonder une société dont le but est de favoriser la culture et la publication des recherches sur l'ancien Orient.

A cette réunion qui a eu lieu le 9 janvier ont pris part 28 savants représentants de divers pays.

M. Clay a exposé avec force et conviction les raisons qui plaident en faveur de la fondation d'une pareille société dont le besoin et l'importance sont évidents. Car bien que l'on rencontre à Jérusalem et dans les autres centres de la Palestine des personnes originaires de divers pays, ainsi que des sociétés et des établissements confessionnels qui portent un vif intérêt aux études orientales, il n'a cependant été créé jusqu'ici aucun organe qui puisse servir de trait d'union entre les savants. L'absence d'un pareil organe a eu pour résultat qu'aucune occasion ne leur a été offerte jusqu'à présent d'entrer en contact personnel les uns avec les autres. Un échange continuuel entre eux d'observations utiles eût pu cependant stimuler les efforts individuels de chacun, efforts qui jusqu'ici restent d'une façon générale inconnus de différents savants qui travaillent dans le même domaine en Palestine et qui, le plus souvent, n'en prennent connaissance que par l'intermédiaire des revues spéciales qui paraissent en Europe et en Amérique.

Or, rien ne saurait être plus utile que la création d'un centre qui favoriserait les relations personnelles entre les savants de toute origine, sans parler de l'occasion qui serait ainsi donnée à un grand nombre de personnes qui résident en Palestine, et qui s'intéressent à nos études, de rencontrer et d'entendre des personnalités scientifiques qui, très souvent, jouissent d'une renommée mondiale.

Le moment actuel nous paraît être très propice et du meilleur augure pour la réussite d'une pareille entreprise. Sous la domination turque la Palestine était demeurée un champ fort peu accessible à l'archéologie. Les rares savants qui ont persévéré dans leur tâche se sont trouvés aux prises avec des difficultés extraordinaires. Aujourd'hui, ces difficultés semblent devoir disparaître ; si bien qu'il faut s'attendre à ce que des savants de toute nationalité, entraînés par un zèle louable pour les recherches archéologiques, affluent très nombreux en ces pays et à ce que le nombre de ceux qui s'intéressent aux résultats de ces travaux aille en augmentant sans cesse.

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## CONSTITUTION.

ART. I. The name of the Society shall be "The Palestine Oriental Society".

ART. II. The Object of the Society shall be the cultivation and publication of researches on the ancient Orient.

ART. III. The members of the Society shall be distinguished as active and honorary. All candidates for membership shall be proposed by the Board of Directors at a stated Meeting of the Society. The votes of three quarters of the members present shall be required for an election.

ART. IV. The Officers of the Society shall consist of a President, two Vice-Presidents, Secretary, Treasurer, and three Directors. These shall be elected by ballot at the Annual Meeting, and shall serve one year, except the three Directors who shall serve three years, one to be elected each year.

ART. V. The Board of Directors shall consist of the officers named in ART. IV. They shall propose all new candidates for election to membership, regulate the financial matters of the Society, superintend its publications, and carry into effect the resolutions of the Society. Four members of the Board shall constitute a quorum.

ART. VI. The Meetings of the Society shall be held in January, March, May and November. The November Meeting shall be regarded as the Annual Meeting when the yearly reports of the Officers shall be read, and the Annual Elections held.

ART. VII. This constitution may be amended on the recommendation of the Boards of Directors, by a vote of three quarters of the members present at a stated Meeting.

#### BY-LAWS.

- I. Each active Member shall pay into the treasury an annual subscription of 100 piastres. The payment of 1,000 piastres at any one time will constitute membership for life.
- II. Active and Honorary Members shall be entitled to a copy of all publications issued by the Society during their membership.
- III. Candidates for membership, who have been elected by the Society, shall qualify as members by the payment of the annual subscription within three months of the time notice of such election is posted to them. A failure so to qualify shall be construed as a refusal to become a member. If any corporate member shall for two years fail to pay the subscription, his name may, at the discretion of the Board of Directors, be dropped from the list of members.
- IV. The President at the Annual Meeting shall appoint a Committee of Arrangements, a Committee of Nominations, and a Committee of Auditors for the following year.
- V. The Official Languages of the Society shall be French and English.



## REPORTS OF MEETINGS :

The First General Meeting of the Society took place in Jerusalem, on March 22nd 1920, and was held at the Military Governorate by permission of Colonel R. Storrs, the Military Governor of Jerusalem. The afternoon session commenced at 2.30 p.m. with the President, Père Lagrange, in the Chair. After the President's Inaugural Address, the following papers were read :

Rev. Dr. J.P. PETERS : Influence of topography in the Psalms.

Père VINCENT : L'inscription d'Arak el-Emir.

Professor W. H. WORRELL : Noun classes and polarity in Hamitic, and their bearing upon the origin of the Semites.

Mr. Samuel RAFAELI : Early Hebrew Weights.

Mr. David YELLIN : Some fresh meanings for Hebrew roots

Mr. Israel EITAN : Contribution à l'histoire du verbe hébreu.

Rev. Timotheos THEMELIS : The Bethlehem Mosaics.

Père DHORME : L'emploi métaphorique des noms de parties du corps en Akkadien et en Hébreu.

Dr. Nahum SLOUSCH : A Palestinian Hebrew Inscription.

The evening session was open to the general public, and before proceeding with the reading of papers contributed by members of the Society, speeches were delivered by Dr. Glazebrook, the American Consul ; Mons. Louis Rais, the French Délégué ; Dr. Mac-Innes, the Anglican Bishop of Jerusalem ; Mr. G. K. Chesterton, and Mr. David Yellin.

The following papers were then submitted :

Captain E.T.H. MACKAY : Egyptian Friezes (with drawings).

Mr. A.Z. IDELSON : Hebrew music, with special reference to the musical intonations in the reading of the Pentateuch.

Dr. Aaron MAZIE : Diseases of Palestine in the Bible and the Talmud.

Père DRESSAIRE : Jérusalem à l'époque juive et les fouilles des Pères Assomptionistes sur le Mont Sion.

Lack of time prevented the reading of four other papers by Père LAGRANGE, Mr. E. BEN YEHUDAH, Dr. W. F. AL-BRIGHT, and Mr. Ephraim RUBINOVITCH.

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The Second General Meeting was held on May 25th 1920, at the Military Governorate in Jerusalem. After new members had been elected, it was announced that His Excellency Field Marshal the Viscount Allenby had accepted the position of Patron of the Society. The following well-known scholars, after being nominated by the Board of Directors, were unanimously elected to

honorary membership: Sir George Adam SMITH and Professor G.A. COOKE of Great Britain; Mons. CLERMONT-GANNEAU and Père SCHEIL of France; Prof. C.C. TORREY and Prof. Morris JASTROW of America; and Prof. GUIDI of Italy.

The following contributions were then read:

Prof. A. T. CLAY. The Amorite origin of the name of Jerusalem.

Le Rév. Père LAGRANGE. Les noms géographiques de Palestine dans l'ancienne version syriaque des Evangiles.

Mr. W. J. PHYTHIAN-ADAMS. An early race of Palestine.

Mr. A. Z. IDELSON. A Comparison of some ecclesiastical modes with traditional synagogal melodies.

Le Rév. Père DHORME. L'assyrien au secours du Livre de Job.

Dr. W. F. ALBRIGHT. Mesopotamian influence in the Temple of Solomon.

Le Rév. Père DECLOEDT. Note sur une monnaie de bronze de Bar Cochba.

Mr. H. E. CLARK. The evolution of flint instruments from the early palaeolithic to the neolithic age.

Mr. Eliezer Ben YEHUDAH. The Language of the Edomites.

Mr. Samuel RAFAELI. Recent coin discoveries in Palestine.

Dr. J. P. PETERS. Notes of locality in the Psalter.

Dr. J. D. WHITING. The Samaritan Pentateuch.

Mr. S. TOLKOWSKY. A new translation of פתח האפה (2 Samuel 8 : 1).

Le Rév. Père ORFALI. Un Sanctuaire Cananéen à Siar el Ganem (prés Bethléem).

Mr. Israel EITAN. Quelques racines inconnues dans le Livre de Job."

Dr. Nahum SLOUSCH. Nouvelle interprétation d'une inscription phénicienne.





INAUGURAL ADDRESS—By the PRESIDENT,  
Le Rev. Père LAGRANGE, Jerusalem.

Mesdames et Messieurs,

Que faisons-nous ? Nous offrons vraiment un spectacle étrange. L'Europe, l'Asie, le monde entier, vient d'être en proie à la plus effroyable tourmente que l'histoire ait connue. Le sol tremble encore. A la guerre entre les nations succède le malaise, sinon partout la lutte ouverte entre les classes. Il se forme des comités pour assurer le bon ordre, pour essayer de pourvoir au pain quotidien. On se demande si l'humanité pourra vivre dans des conditions économiques nouvelles. Tous les regards se portent anxieux vers l'avenir. Et nous voilà réunis pour traiter de menus problèmes qui ont à peine intéressé le passé, pour discuter du sens des mots et des règles de la grammaire, nous occuper de la géographie ancienne, des fleurs des champs, des vieilles mélopées, des lettres gravées sur les rochers de la Palestine !

En vérité, je crains qu'on ne nous reproche de jouer à la poupée dans un monde adulte, inquiet de ses destinées et que des problèmes plus urgents préoccupent.

Mais d'abord, Messieurs, nous travaillons, et c'est un excellent exemple que nous donnons dans un temps où les bras qui ont tenu l'épée répugnent à reprendre les outils ou la charrue. Nous travaillons, et la journée de huit heures nous paraît trop courte pour assouvir notre curiosité. Autant que la crise du pétrole le permet, vous prolongez vos veilles studieuses bien avant dans la nuit, et si l'insécurité du pays n'y faisait obstacle, on vous verrait reprendre l'exploration du sol pour lui arracher ses secrets. Travailler, c'est la vieille loi, opportune si l'on ne veut pas que notre humus palestinien se recouvre de nouveau de ronces et d'épines, et le travail de l'esprit n'est pas moins pénible parfois que celui de défricher la steppe. Nous proclamons à notre manière qu'il est bon que chacun reprenne son poste et s'emploie au bien général.

Il est vrai que nous portons nos efforts ailleurs que les utiles ouvriers qui nous fournissent le pain, mais j'ose dire qu'à eux-mêmes nous ne sommes pas inutiles. Car l'homme d'aujourd'hui, si fier qu'il soit des progrès de son industrie, si haut qu'il élève son vol, n'est point un titan qui vienne de sortir du sein de la terre. C'est l'héritier de générations nombreuses, et il est soumis, quoiqu'il en pense peut-être, aux obscures influences de son hérité et à des lois éternelles ; un poids de plus de quarante siècles le courbe vers la terre, un appel non moins ancien l'invite aux choses d'en haut. Si quelque jour pouvait percer les ténèbres de l'avenir, si quelque chose d'humain peut éclairer le présent, nous guider dans notre route, nous fortifier dans l'épreuve, raviver nos plus nobles espérances, c'est la leçon du passé, c'est la lumière de l'histoire. Seulement nous ne voulons plus de cette histoire, fille de l'imagination, qui brosse de grands tableaux et range dans un bel ordre des faits éclatants dont elle n'a pas contrôlé l'exactitude. Notre méthode exige des don-

nées précises, fussent elles de médiocre apparence. C'est par une étude attentive, patiente, à la suite d'une enquête poursuivie dans tous les milieux, que se fait aujourd'hui l'histoire. Les forces d'un homme n'y suffisent plus. Nous ne sommes plus au temps d'Hérodote, ni même de Bossuet ou de Macaulay.

Et voilà pourquoi, Messieurs, nous nous sommes groupés. Il serait assurément difficile de rencontrer ailleurs qu'à Jérusalem des compétences aussi diverses, sur un sol plus profondément transformé par les civilisations les plus variées. Nous y rencontrons l'empreinte de l'antique Babylone, mère du droit, des sciences exactes, de l'astronomie, d'un art réaliste et vigoureux. Pour lire les plus antiques annales de la Palestine, il faut être assyriologue. Mais ces annales ont été exhumées des sables de l'Égypte, parce que l'Égypte elle aussi avait foulé les plaines du pays de Canaan, l'Égypte d'où est venu Moïse avec les fils d'Israël. Et déjà la Grèce avait abordé à nos rivages, représentée par des ancêtres qu'elle avait oubliés depuis, les Philistins, fils de la Crète aux cent villes, chantée par Homère, et la première maîtresse des eaux orientales de la Méditerranée. Alexandre poussa jusqu'à Tyr et à Gaza sa course triomphale, et les Romains voulurent associer ce fleuron à la couronne d'empires que baignait leur mer. Enfin l'Islam vint, puis les Tartares, immense débordement de l'Asie qui provoqua le reflux européen.

Car vous le savez, Messieurs, et tous, Palestiniens d'origine ou d'adoption, nous en sommes fiers, cette contrée deshéritée avec ses collines arides du haut desquelles Jérusalem regarde vers le désert et vers la mer, ce pays aux dimensions étroites, mais si grand dans l'histoire, surtout religieuse, est au confluent des grandes civilisations antiques, et bien des races humaines, nourries sur ce sol, s'y sont endormies du sommeil de la terre. Il en est d'elles comme de ces couches de sédiment qui se forment au fond des mers, et qui révèlent aux géologues la flore et la faune disparues des temps écoulés. Mais s'il arrive dans ce domaine paisible de la nature que des couches plus basses se soulèvent tout à coup et remontent à la surface, que penser de ces stratification humaines, toujours vivantes dans leurs descendants ? Aussi, avouons-le, Jérusalem et la Palestine ont dans le monde entier la réputation d'un sol remué par l'ardeur des passions nationales et religieuses, et plus il appelle le concours des spécialistes les plus divers, plus il semble fait pour provoquer la mésintelligence et la discorde.

Eh bien, Messieurs, c'est à nous à faire à notre pays une meilleure réputation. Plus précieux encore que l'encouragement au travail, plus utile que les leçons de l'histoire, vous donnerez l'exemple de la concorde. Ou plutôt vous montrerez par l'histoire que la haine est stérile et destructrice, tandis que la concorde édifie, féconde, assure le bonheur de tous.

Sans doute cependant, et quelle que soit la bonne volonté générale, sera-t-il opportun de prendre des assurances. Nous ne parlerons pas de ce qui pourrait nous diviser. J'ose dire que par ma robe même on peut voir à qui appartiennent ma vie, mon cœur



et mon âme, mais je n'ai pas prononcé le mot de religion. Les études religieuses, les plus graves de toutes, et comme je pense les seules définitivement nécessaires, ne font point partie de notre programme. On ne devra les aborder que comme les abeilles font les fleurs, d'une touche délicate et ailée, et afin de composer du miel. Et quant à la politique, le mieux sera d'ignorer qu'elle existe et que quelques personnes puissent s'y intéresser.

Il ne me reste plus, Mesdames et Messieurs, qu'à vous exprimer ma gratitude pour l'honneur qui m'a été fait de présider cette première séance, à remercier Monsieur le gouverneur-militaire qui a bien voulu nous accueillir ici, et à déclarer fondée la *Société Orientale de Palestine*, en vous souhaitant une cordiale bienvenue.

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## SOME FRESH MEANINGS OF HEBREW ROOTS.

DAVID YELLIN

(Jerusalem).

There are certain roots in Hebrew which, besides the customary sense in which they occur in the Bible, have another sense as well. Only it so happens that they have this sense in only a small minority of the passages where they are used. So long as the language was living, the different meanings of the roots of the language were understood regardless of the frequency or infrequency of their occurrence; but once it ceased to be a spoken language and was confined to the limits of a book, the large portion of the language's vocabulary and radical significances not contained within that book began to be forgotten: and the same fate befell the secondary meanings of the roots we have in mind. Because they occurred in the majority of instances in one particular meaning, this meaning was kept in the reader's mind; and in course of time applied also in those instances where the second meaning should be applied, though this was only accomplished at times with difficulty. Consequent on this forced exegesis there sprang up diverse and bizarre renderings, where context was ignored, and the whole passage rendered meaningless owing to ignorance of this other meaning inherent in the root.

A comparison with the vocabularies of the other Semitic languages enables us to rediscover these forgotten meanings, and to explain words in the Bible which seemed incomprehensible, or comprehensible only with difficulty, owing to the commoner significance being wrongly thrust on them. To illustrate this, we propose to bring forward a selection of such roots drawn from a large list in the present writer's possession.

## אבד

Besides the meaning "to be lost," this root had among the Hebrews the same meaning which it has in Arabic (أبَد), the sense of unending time, whose further limit "is lost" to us, withheld from our attainment—eternity. We find a case exactly like this in the root עָלַם, from which we get the word עֹלָם—a time whose end is "concealed" from us, [cf. נִעְלַם, *nif.* "be hidden"].

We find the root in this sense in the oracles of Balaam, and in verses from the Book of Job, which has been largely influenced by the Arabic language; and by applying this new interpretation we can better understand certain passages in the Bible:

(1) In Num. 24:20, in the Balaam oracles, we read: *And he looked on Amalek, and took up his parable and said: Amalek (is) the first of the nations, and his latter end עֵרִי אָבָד* (R.V. "shall come to



destruction.") We see, from the beginning of the verse that Balaam was expatiating in *praise* of Amalek, "first of the nations," and with this description agrees the parallel clause "and his latter end *is unto eternity*," i. e. as he is the first of the nations in time, so shall he be the last among them to exist, and his end shall reach "to the limit of eternity."

In the same way he praises the Kenite : *Strong is thy dwelling-place, and thy nest is set in the crag...and they shall afflict Asshur and afflict Eber*, אבר וגם הוא ערי אבר i.e. the Kenites also [i.e. like Amalek] shall endure for ever.

Through this interpretation, ערי which has reference to time, becomes clearer, and affords a parallel to the common expression ערי עד (Ps. 53 : 18 ; 92 : 8 ; 132 : 12, 14 ; Is. 26 : 4 ; 65 : 18) and the expression עד עולם (Gen. 13 : 15 ; Ex. 12 : 24 ; etc).

Was the word אבר, which is twice written without waw, originally a segholate, 'obhêd, which is more in accord with its abstract meaning (like נצה with the same meaning) ? The same question is raised even if we explain this word in the customary way "destruction" (H. Olshausen ; *Lehr. der Hebr. Spr.*, p. 337).

(2) Besides the form אבר we have also from the same root and with the same meaning the form אברון This corresponds with the abstract noun formation as in רעבון Here we find the suffix ון, apparently indicative of time just like the *tanwin* in Arabic [أَبْنٍ], and we also find it added to proper names like Hebron, Shomeron, Eglon and the like, indicating locality. We find this form in Job 31 : 12 ; *For it, (fornication), is a fire devouring* ; ער אברון ; i. e. for ever, without cessation. We find the same idea in connexion with the word עולם in Is. 33 : 14 ; *Who among us shall dwell with the devouring fire ? Who among us shall dwell with everlasting burning ?* מוקרי עולם.

(3) We find the root used as a verb in the *qal.* with the same significance : Job. 30 : 2 : *Yea, the strength of their hands, whereto should it profit me, men upon whom* אבר כלה i. e. old age is already come upon them from of old, and Job's mockery is natural against those who are younger than he (v. l.), for these young men were weak and feeble in comparison with him, and powerless ; and they were as though old age had already, long ago, come upon them.

The author of the Book of Job uses the same expression elsewhere, employing the verb derived from עולם "eternity," in Job. 6 : 16 : *Wherein the snow* יתעלם i.e. exists eternally. Here we have the *hithpa'el* form, corresponding to <sup>١</sup>تَعَلَّم in Arabic.

## אמן

To the various meanings which this root has in Hebrew, we must add one belonging to the Arabic *أمن*, namely "be confident," "unafraid of evil." In this sense we find the root in the following places in the Bible :

(1) In the Nif'al : (a) Is. 7 : 9. *If ye will not believe in me* (adopting the reading *בִּי* instead of *בִּי* according to the variant in Kittel's text) *לֹא הָאֲמֵנוּ* ; i. e. ye shall not remain in peace and security.

(b) Chr. 20 : 20, *Believe in the Lord your God* *וְהָאֲמֵנוּ*, and rest in confidence, just as he says, immediately after : *Believe in his prophets* *וְהִצְלִיחוּ* and prosper.

In these two passages, one of which is certainly influenced by the other, we have a play of words on the two meanings of the root *אמן*.

(2) In the Hif'il. (a) Job 39 : 24, in his description of the restlessness of the horse in time of battle, the writer says : *With storm and rage יִמְאֵז* he maketh holes in the ground [i. e. he makes holes in the ground with his hoofs by stamping like the horse which wishes to run but is restrained by his rider] *וְלֹא יֵאֱמָן בִּי קוֹל שׁוֹפָר* and he cannot remain quiet and stand at rest, for his stormy spirit drives him on as he hears the sound of the trumpet.

(b) Prov. 14 : 15. *The simple-minded יֵאֱמָן לֵב לְדָבָר*. Here the meaning is not the usual one of the verb, that he believes in everything that is told him ; the continuation opposes this, and the parallelism here requires the meaning of "be confident, unfearing" — *The simple-minded is confident in every matter, but the prudent looketh well to his going : a wise man feareth and turneth away from evil, but the foolish man passeth by without fear.* <sup>(1)</sup>

The same idea occurs twice again in Proverbs. (22 : 3 ; 27 : 12).

The occurrence of the *nif'al* and the *hif'il* of this root with a meaning dealing with a subjective state of mind is paralleled by the use of the root *רָנַע*, with the same meaning in both *nif'al*, and *hif'il*, of restfulness, security (see Dt. 28 : 65 ; Is. 34 : 14 ; Jer. 47 : 6).

(3) As an adjective of the form *katûl* : 2 Sam. 20 : 19. *We are of them that are שְׁלֹמֵי אֲדָמַי יִשְׂרָאֵל* the men of Israel who dwell in peace and safety. This description of the men of the city corresponds to the usual ideal description : cf. Jud. 18 : 7. *"The people ... that dwelt לְבִטָּח in security, שׁוֹקֵט וּבִטָּח quiet and secure ... and had no dealings with any man"* *"אִם בִּטָּח a people secure"* (v. 10.)

(1) The word *מִתְעַבֵּר* in this sense of "pass by" is also found in Prov. 20 : 2. *"The anger of a king is as the roaring of a lion : he that passes by—מִתְעַבֵּר (passes by him at the time of his anger) sins against his life."*



The *katûl* form of these adjectives שלום and אמן corresponds with that of the adjectives בטוח and סמוך (Is. 28 : 3) which have almost the same meaning.

(4) In the abstract noun form, אמונה : (a) Is. 33 : 6, where it occurs in the old feminine form with final *t* : *Thy times shall be אמונה* i. e. Thy time shall be secure, and thou shalt fear no manner of thing.

(b) In Ex. 13 : 12, in the description of how, when Moses lifted up his hand Israel prevailed, and when his hand grew tired and drooped Amalek prevailed, and how Aaron and Hor supported his hands, it goes on to say : *Until the setting of the sun, his hands were אמונה* in a secure condition, with no danger of his dropping them again from weariness.

It should be pointed out that this root אמן has the same two meanings as the corresponding root בטח which also indicates (a) to rely upon someone, and (b) to feel confident, in safety.

## דרך

The powerful and beautiful phrase חררכי נפשיען [R.V. *O my soul, march on in strength* ; R. V. mg. *O my soul thou hast trodden down strength*] in the Song of Deborah (Jud. 5 : 21) gives little definite meaning owing to the customary sense of the root דרך being assumed. <sup>(1)</sup>

In the opinion of the present writer, there is here preserved in this root דרך the meaning which it has in Arabic and Syriac in the form corresponding to the Hebrew Hif'il (أدرک)

"to reach;" and after the singer has described the overthrow of the enemy, how the river Kishon swept them away, she exclaims with rapture : *Thou, my soul, hast attained power and greatness.* <sup>(2)</sup>

The same sense is preserved in another verse in Judges (20:43), which, in the present writer's opinion, is a remnant of an old song on the destruction of Benjamin : *They inclosed the Benjaminites round about, and pursued after him as far as Manoha.* <sup>(3)</sup> And here, im-

(1) Nowack leaves this part of the verse untranslated, and says : The last section is obviously also corrupt ; for even if we regard חררכי as jussive, the phrase "tread on, my soul, with might" or "tread under the strong" (Hollmann Bochmann) still gives it no sense in this connexion. How to amend it, with certainty, we do not see.

(2) דן having the meaning of the Arabic عر as elsewhere in the Old Testament (cf. Jer. 48 : 17 ; Is. 52 : 1 ; Ps. 78 : 61 ; Prov. 31 : 25).

(3) Moore reads *Manoha* instead of *m'muha* — resting-place — explaining it as a place-name, related to the name Noḥa, one of the sons of Benjamin, mentioned in 1. Chr. 8 : 2 ; and in the present writer's opinion, this is the name of the city "Manahath" mentioned in 1 Chr. 8 : 6, where it speaks of Benjamin saying, "These are the heads of fathers' houses of the inhabitants of Geba, and they carried them captive to Manahath."

mediately afterwards, it mentions : "Over against Giba" and *הרריכו* caught up with him, at a place near <sup>(1)</sup> Gib'ah, towards the sunrising.

Here the word *הרריכו* occurs in the *nif'il*, as in Arabic and Syriac <sup>(2)</sup> and it is used here after the word *הרריכו* (exactly like the expression in the "Song of Moses" Ex. 15: 9 *The enemy said : I will pursue, I will overtake.*




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(1) The word *עַר* has also the meaning of the Arabic *عند* "By, at," as the writer hopes to explain elsewhere.

(2) Nowack says : *מנחה הרריכו* defies explanation, for the treading down of the enemy can only be denoted by the *qal*.



# NOUN CLASSES AND POLARITY IN HAMITIC AND THEIR BEARING UPON THE ORIGIN OF THE SEMITES.

BY W. H. WORRELL,  
(Hartford, U.S.A.)

§1. In the year nineteen hundred and eleven Carl Meinhof published an article *Das Ful in seiner Bedeutung für die Sprachen der Hamiten, Semiten und Bantu* <sup>(1)</sup> and, a year or two later, a book entitled *Die Sprachen der Hamiten*. <sup>(2)</sup> In both of these he expounds his theory of the Hamitic noun classes and of polarity. This theory has received public recognition by at least one Semitic scholar, <sup>(3)</sup> in so far as it bears upon Semitic grammar.

§2. But there is another side to Meinhof's work, far more important than the mere explanation of curious phenomena in Semitic, which has not up to the present attracted the attention of Semitic scholars, and which it is my purpose to bring to the attention of this distinguished society. I refer to the confirmation which his work gives of the generally accepted Arabian theory of Semitic origins, especially of that theory as elaborated by Noeldeke, placing the ultimate origin of the Semites in northern Africa. <sup>(4)</sup>

§3. By Hamites Meinhof means a race of people, originally inhabiting the north of Africa, at a time when it was separated from southern Africa and joined to Europe, which proceeded eastward into Arabia and southward into continental Africa as far as the Cape. The various mixtures of these Hamites with Sudanians <sup>(5)</sup> and Bushmen <sup>(6)</sup> have been traced linguistically by Meinhof and anthropologically by von Luschan. <sup>(7)</sup> This race was closely related to the then south Europeans, <sup>(8)</sup> furnished the dominant element in the mixed peoples resulting from its conquests in Africa and, crossing into Arabia, became the nucleus of another organism and the beginning of a greater chapter in history than it was destined to realize in the land of Ham.

(1) In vol. lxy of the *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*.

(2) Also, in German and English, a more popular work on *The Study of African Languages*. None of these is accessible in Jerusalem.

(3) Brockelmann, in *ZDMG* vol. lxxvii.

(4) Linguistically, of course, and without attempting to say to what extent racially also. Cf. note 18.

(5) Large, black, woolly-haired speakers of monosyllabic or agglutinative languages which have word-tone and no gender.

(6) Smaller, yellowish, scant-haired speakers of click languages.

(7) In an appendix to *Die Sprachen der Hamiten*.

(8) The present south Europeans represent a wedge driven in from the east. The racial affinities of Berbers is with north Europeans.

§ 4. The writer attempts to show that these Hamitic languages form a series of gradations, in respect of noun classes and polarity, beginning with Ful in the western Sudan and ending with Bishari in the eastern Nilotic desert, the eastern end being most like Semitic and the western least like it. The western end he further continues by establishing a still more remote connexion with the great Bantu family of central and southern Africa. We may even more confidently extend the eastern end of the series up through Arabic, Canaanitish, Syrian and Babylonian, observing that the southern end of this Semitic series is most like the eastern end of the Hamitic, and the northern end least like it.

§ 5. The conclusion to be drawn from this graded series, beginning in western north Africa and ending in Babylonia, is as irresistible in the present case as it would be if we were dealing with one of the natural sciences. There has been a development from one type into another through a number of intermediates, each of which is a little further from the original than its predecessor. Those members which explain their successors are the more original. Semitic has developed out of Hamitic and not the reverse.

§ 6. The two phenomena on which the classification is based are, as has been said, word classes and polarity. Meinhof attempts to show that the many noun classes of Bantu<sup>(1)</sup> are narrowed down in Ful to four: of persons, of things, of large things and of small things. By a process of simplification, more pronounced toward the east, the four classes become two: large things, important things, persons and men, on the one hand, and small things, unimportant things, non-persons and women, on the other.<sup>(2)</sup> Finally the grammatical gender of Semitic is evolved; not, however, without residual traces of the earlier systems.

§ 7. Meinhoff also calls attention for the first time to a phenomenon which he terms polarity. It is found in its most complete form in the more conservative Hamitic languages. Like the physical phenomenon of the same name, it proceeds from a law or principle by which a thing belonging to one of two possible categories is opposed (in thought) to things in the other category, and is transferred to the other category whenever any change is made in it. There are only two classes, (a) and (b). What is not (a) is (b). What is not (b) is (a). If you change (a) it becomes (b). If you change (b) it becomes (a).<sup>(3)</sup>

§ 8. One of the most common inflectional necessities is the change to denote the plural. Therefore, to make a noun plural you take it out of its class, (a) or (b), and put it into the remaining and

(1) Supposed to be an intimate amalgamation of pre-Ful with some Sudanian language.

(2) In Bilin, Chamir and Shlih the diminutives are "feminine." In Masai and Nama tree and stone with the "masculine" article are augmentative, with the "feminine" article diminutive. In Beglawye the accusative of the "masculine" is "feminine." Proper names, even of women, are "masculine," as also the pronoun I, and that important animal, the cow.

(3) When one end of a steel bar or one coating of a Leyden jar is made positive the other will be found to be negative.



opposite class. Where there are only two classes, a "masculine" and a "feminine," the plural of the "masculine" must be "feminine," and of a "feminine" "masculine." The "feminine" ending indicates the plural of a "masculine," the "masculine" of a "feminine."<sup>(1)</sup>

§ 9. Arabic, nearest to Hamitic geographically, is found also to be nearest it in the degree of its retention of these two old principles, and north and east Semitic most remote. In Arabic, while the laws are not, as in Hamitic, fully operative, yet they are to be observed in isolated phenomena some of which I shall now discuss.

§ 10. The numerals from three to ten inclusive are put in the opposite gender to that of the singular of the thing numbered,<sup>(2)</sup> not because of any reason of sex, but because an antithesis was felt to exist between the two. The triad which numbered was felt to be less important than the men which it numbered; and, by polarity, the triad which numbered must be more important than the women which it numbered.

§ 11. The plural of many "masculine" nouns is "feminine." If the thing thought of is important in its primary aspect, it is unimportant in the secondary. So plurals like *بَحْرِيَّ* from *بَحْرِيَّ* *بَحْرِيَّةَ* from *عَلَمَاءَ* from *عَلِيمَ* which have a feminine ending, and others like *رَجَالِ* from *رَجُلٍ* which have not, and also tribal names.

§ 12. The plural of many "feminine" nouns is "masculine." If the thing thought of is unimportant in its primary aspect it is important in the secondary. So plurals like *بَيْضَ* from *بَيْضَةٍ*.<sup>(3)</sup> So the generalization of an action as *قَتَلَ* from *قَتَلَتْ*.<sup>(4)</sup>

§ 13. When it is desired to intensify an adjective which cannot be put in the measure *أَفْعَلٌ* without losing its identity, as e.g. *عَلَامَ*, it is put into the "other" form and receives the "feminine" ending, becoming *عَلَامَةٌ*. This is even done with forms in which it is not

(1) In Somali this is the rule for every noun which has a collective plural. In Nama the "feminine" singular is also the "masculine" plural.

(2) The period during which the Semites counted only to the limit of their ten digits must have been long; for when they resumed counting and went beyond, the old two-class polarity was inoperative.

(3) It is usual to regard this plural as primary and the singular as a nomen unitatis.

(4) It is usual to regard the "masculine" as primary and call the other a nomen vicis.

necessary, as e.g. كَرِيم intensive كَرِيمَة<sup>(1)</sup>. Thus we see that in خَبَازَة the ending denotes sex, in عَلَامَة intensity, in بَحَّارَة plurality. The ending in reality is merely the sign of a secondary or derived class. In the first case it cannot be used for the plural because of the possibility of a female baker. But one does not think of female scholars or sailors.

§ 14. The so-called negative غَيْر is not really a negative but an "oppositive." The universe is divided into هَذَا and غَيْر هَذَا and it contains absolutely nothing else besides. The one half is the opposite of the other; and when Sulaimân descended upon غَيْرُ مَاء it was not merely "the absence of water" but "that which is not water." In order to express the absence of a thing without the presence of its opposite the preposition مِنْ must be used; and hence مِنْ غَيْرِ مَاء means "without water."

§ 15. For many years Arabia has been regarded as the cradle of the Semites.<sup>(2)</sup> Noeldeke, in the last edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica*,<sup>(3)</sup> still maintains this view, and regards Hamitic Africa as their still remoter place of origin. Grimme does the same.<sup>(4)</sup> Attempts have been made to show that they came from Babylonia<sup>(5)</sup> or out of the north, or were indigenous to Syria and Palestine. One may bring in the Aramaeans from the Caspian and the Arabs out of Syria into the desert, but it still remains to be shown why Arabic should have sporadic affinities to the systems which are complete in Hamitic. Any biologist, being shown the facts, would say that the sporadic phenomena are, as it were, residual organs, surviving with altered functions from a former age, and explained only by reference to the type from which they have been inherited. They are not germs of a system unelaborated, for they do not grow out of the language consciousness which surrounds them. Not only must Arabia have been the most ancient home of the Semites as such; but they must have had a long previous history, beginning in the western part of north Africa.

(1) Possibly the curious form خَلِيمَة is an honorific intensive of خَلِيف.

(2) Renan, *Histoire Générale*, 29; Sprenger, *Die alte Geographie Arabiens*, § 42; Schrader, *ZDMG*, xxvii, 397.

(3) Sub voc. *Semitic Languages*.

(4) *Mohammed*, p. 6. f. But his one-sided preference for Abyssinia cannot be accepted.

(5) Guidi, *Della sede primitiva dei populi Semitici*, *RAL*, cclxxvi.



NOTE A.—*The Reciprocal Change of Sin and Shin in Semitic:*

1. In a very large number of instances sin in South Semitic stands for shin in North Semitic. E.g.: Arabic *nafs* = Hebrew *nefesh*. In an equally large number of instances the reverse holds. E.g. Arabic *bishāra* = Hebrew *besôrā*. Two problems are presented by this reciprocal change: (I) How is it possible for each of two sounds to go over into the other. (II) Which of the two sounds is original in a given instance. Both problems are solved by a recognition and application of the principle of polarity.

2. This reciprocal interchange of sin and shin has never been satisfactorily explained. The difficulty is obvious. Although either may change into the other under the influence of some operative tendency, the result will be the total surrender of one or the other; and, even though a contrary tendency may subsequently operate, the result will be a single sound, one or the other of the original sounds. Again, it is impossible to conceive of two opposite tendencies operating at the same time to produce two directly opposite results, for the tendencies would neutralize one another without result.

3. The principle of polarity, dominant in Hamitic and prominent in Semitic, ordains that a thing belonging to one of two possible classes, upon passing over into the other class maintains the conscious contrast between itself and an opposed thing by transferring that thing to what has now become the opposite class; (a) of class (1) is opposed in thought to (b) of class (2). If (a) passes into class (2) then (b) must pass into class (1) to preserve the demanded contrast. Applying this principle to the problem in hand: there were two original sounds, sin and shin. A tendency became operative to change sin into shin or else to change shin into sin. At the same time by polarity the remaining sound was transferred into the opposite class, and became the opposite sound.

4. It remains to show which of the two sounds was original in a given word, which of the changes is phonetic and which polaric. It is phonetically possible for either sound to pass into the other; but there is some presumption in favor of sin becoming shin rather than the reverse. This presumption is strengthened by consideration of the fact that Arabic *thalāth* must have passed through a form *salās* (cf. Ethiopic) before becoming *shālosh*. In other words *thalāth* first joined *nafs* and both of them then received a shin. At the same time Arabic *bishāra* became Hebrew *besôrā* by polarity. The Arabic therefore contains the original values; sin became shin by phonetic change; and shin became sin by polarity.

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## NOTE B.—Plurals with بنات to Singulars with ابن

§ 1. The jackal is called in Arabic ابْنُ آوَى in the plural بَنَاتُ آوَى. Similarly a male camel that has entered upon his third year is called ابْنُ لَبُونٍ in the plural بَنَاتُ لَبُونٍ. A single star of the constellation Ursa is called ابْنُ نَعَشٍ in the plural بَنَاتُ نَعَشٍ. A kind of bad mushroom is called in the plural بَنَاتُ أَوْبَرٍ, limping horses بَنَاتُ أَعْوَجَ, good stallion camels بَنَاتُ ذَاعِرٍ, and the two last take the verb of the third person plural even though they are masculine. The بَنَاتُ is used in all these cases "for the feminization of the group"; and, in the case of أَعْوَجَ. أَوْبَرُ. آوَى because they are of the form أَفْعَلُ (*Lisân al-Arab*; *Hava Arab.-Engl. Dict.*) So much for native sources.<sup>(1)</sup>

§ 2. All of these plurals are original, and are used because, for some reason or another, the usual plurals are felt to be impossible. In some cases the singulars are back-formations, put in the masculine by the principle of polarity in order that they may contrast with the plurals. The words with which بَنَاتُ and ابْنُ are thus compounded are all in the nature of proper names:<sup>(2)</sup> daughters of Waw-Waw, daughters of Downy-Hair, daughters of Lame-Foot, daughters of Smolder-Fire, daughters of Drink-Milk, daughters of Ursa. This is proved by the absence of the article from all of them. They are felt to be neither singulars nor plurals. The plural is then formed in one way and the singular in the opposite way. Even the modern Arabic *wâwi* (jackal) is felt by natives to have no convenient plural, most of them, when asked, hesitating between *wâwîn*, and *wâwîya* and knowing nothing of the formation with بَنَاتُ

(1) "When ابْنُ is applied to that which is not a human being, to an irrational being, it has for its plural بَنَاتُ: thus the plural of ابْنُ مَخَاضٍ (a young male camel in his second year) is بَنَاتُ مَخَاضٍ etc." LANE, ابن

(2) LANE, آوَى

§ 3. Without weakening the case for the existence here of polarity, it may be contended that the *ابْنُ* formations are primary rather than the *بَنَاتُ* formations, especially in view of the Hebrew *ben baqar*, which has no plural, and Assyrian *mâré nûni*, which has no singular—except of course the regular ones. But it must be noted that neither *baqar* nor *nûn* is quite so personal as the Arabic examples; and of course there is no polarity, as far as examples permit of observation. Arabic apparently favored the operation of polarity as it wished to avoid combinations with *بَنِي* which sounded like tribal names; Hebrew avoided the same combination, for the same reason, but did not resort to polarity; Assyrian, because it employed *bît* instead of *mâré* in tribal names, did not need to avoid using the latter and so did not resort to polarity.

§ 4. The expressions *بَنَاتُ لَبُونٍ* for male camels that have entered upon their third year, and *بَنَاتُ دَاعِرٍ* for “stallion camels,” are so conspicuously contradictory of real gender as to leave no doubt of the presence here of polarity.





## TWO ANCIENT HEBREW WEIGHTS.

SAMUEL RAFFAELI,

(Jerusalem.)

The writer has in his possession two small stones, almost alike in colour, shape and material; they are round in form with a domed top, but they differ in weight and in the writing inscribed on them. They undoubtedly belong to a very early period, and, judging from their size and weight, were probably used for weighing precious metal or other valuable materials.

One of these weights is inscribed with the letters (in archaic Hebrew script) פִּים, *P-I-M*; and the other כֶּסֶף, *K-S-F*. The first one weighs a little more than 119 grains, while the other is almost 155 in weight. What are these weights?

In 1902, Prof. G.A. Barton obtained in Jerusalem a small piece of metal; on one side was written לְזִכְרֵהוּ יֵאֵר, and on the other פִּים, *P-I-M*. It weighed a little more than 117 grains.<sup>(1)</sup> In 1907 Mr. R.A.S. Macalister found at Gaza a stone similar to the first of the two in my possession, and bearing the same inscription. Its weight is about 112 grains.<sup>(2)</sup> Since my own specimen is more than 119 grains we may assume that the maximum weight of this particular kind is more than 119 grains, and that a well-preserved specimen may be as much as 125 grains.

After the discovery of the second example, the word *P-I-M* still remained unexplained. My own specimen I obtained in 1914, and in a subsequent investigation came to the conclusion that this word *P-I-M* was to be found in I. Sam. 13, 21: וְלֹאִיִּם וְהָהָה הַפְּצִירָה : פִּים לְמַרְשָׁתָה. I suggested that the *P-I-M* was a tax or payment from the Israelites to the Philistines in return for sharpening their mattocks and other implements (*Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement*, April 1914); and this interpretation of the word has been embodied in the new translation of the Bible issued by the Jewish Publication Society of America (Philadelphia 1917).

Hitherto no weights have been found bearing the inscription "Shekel"; but such most probably exist and will ultimately be discovered. As for the *Beqa'* (Gen. 24. 22; Ex. 38. 26), small stones with the round domed shape, made of red marble, have been brought to light bearing the inscription בֶּקַע : Prof. C.C. Torrey of Yale University, when in Jerusalem in the spring of 1901, secured a specimen weighing a little more than 90 grains;<sup>(3)</sup> Mr. R.A.S. Macalister found another at Gezer, with the same inscription, weighing about

(1) *P.S.B.A.* 1902.

(2) *P. E. F. Quarterly Statement* 1907, p. 266.

(3) *P. S. B. A.* 1901.

49 grains: <sup>(1)</sup> and Prof. Gustav Dalman secured yet a third from a fellow at Shafat of 102 grains weight. <sup>(2)</sup> We may, therefore, assume that the maximum weight of the *Bega* is more than 102 grains. This accords with the biblical tradition of Ex. 38, 26, that the *Bega* is the half of the "Holy" shekel.

The writer, in his *Coins of the Jews* (Jerusalem, 1913) has described Half-Shekels weighing from 100 to 105 grains. <sup>(3)</sup> There, also, will be found discussed the standard of the Talent, the Maneh and the Shekel, of both the "Holy" and the "Heavy" variety. We know that the *Bega* is the half of the Holy Shekel; and the *Pim* appears to be the half of the Heavy Shekel. The Heavy Shekel weighed over 900,000 grains; the Maneh was one sixtieth of a Talent, and a Shekel one sixtieth of a Maneh; therefore the Heavy Shekel weighs about 250 grains. In spite of the fact that the heaviest *Pim* hitherto found weighs only 119 grains, it is not improbable that if one were found in a perfect state of preservation it would weigh about 125 grains. We may, therefore, fairly conclude that a *Pim* is the half of the Heavy Shekel.

The reading of the second stone has given rise to much discussion. Other examples have been found: one by Mr. H.E. Clark in 1891 near Anata (the biblical Anathoth) weighing 134 grains; <sup>(4)</sup> others by Dr. Bliss and Mr. Macalister during the excavations at Tell Zakariya, weighing respectively 145, 154, and 157 grains; another by Prof. Barton, in Jerusalem, in 1902, weighing 153 grains; while the one in my possession weighs 155 grains. We can assume that the average weight of this stone is 156 grains.

The interpretation of the inscription on this weight has been complicated by the discovery of a small spindle-shaped weight (purchased by Dr. Chaplin in Samaria in 1820 and now in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford; there is a reproduction in *H.D.B.* vol. 4, p. 904), inscribed, according to the normally accepted reading, on the one side with רבעשל and on the other with רבעננ. <sup>(5)</sup> Neither conveys any meaning. Of the latter, the fourth and sixth letters are not distinct; and at the time when the stone was discovered the last letter could be read פ and not נ. But even so, what does a quarter of a *nesef* mean? Lidzbarski (*Ephem.* I p. 13) explains the characters read של as unsuccessful efforts of the workman at writing נצף compelling him to start afresh on the other side. Lidzbarski could give no satisfactory explanation of נצף. A connexion with the Arabic *nusf* "half," has been proposed, but this would afford but a dubious sense. The writer suggests that the correct reading is not really נצף

(1) *P. E. F. Quarterly Statement* 1904, p. 209.

(2) *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palaestina-Vereins.* Bd. xxix, p. 92 ff.

(3) Pp. 65-68.

(4) *Weights of ancient Palestine* E. J. Pilhter, London, 1912.

(5) *Ibid.*

but כסף. There are certain verses in the Bible which suggest that the *Kesef* was a distinct kind of weight like a Shekel or *Beqa'*: thus Abimelech gave Abraham a thousand *kesef* (Gen. 20, 16), and Joseph was sold to the Ishmaelites for twenty *kesef* (Gen. 37, 28).

The writer has explained elsewhere (*op. cit. sup.*) that Darius Hystaspes received the Maneh standard, i.e. 7,800 grains<sup>(1)</sup> (troy), from the Babylonians; the Babylonian Shekel, being one fiftieth part of the Maneh, is 156 grains, and this was regarded as the "light" Persian Shekel. It was on this standard that the *Kesef* weight was based.




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(1) *Coins of the Jews*, p. 28.





## NOTE SUR UNE MONNAIE DE BRONZE DE BAR COCHBA.

A. DECLOEDT

(Jerusalem)

Le musée de Sainte-Anne possède une monnaie de bronze de Bar Cochba qui semble extrêmement rare et je serais désireux de savoir si elle n'a pas sa semblable dans vos collections particulières.

En voici la description :

Au droit : . . שמעון נשיא ישראל "Simon prince d'Israël," en léger de circulaire autour d'une couronne renfermant une palme. Grènetis.

Au revers : ש.ב. לחר ישראל "L'an II de la délivrance d'Israël," en légende circulaire. Lyre à quatre cordes. Les shins sont anguleux et le graveur Juif a écrit "ישראל" pour Israël "ישראל" faute qui se rencontre fréquemment sur les monnaies de Bar Cochba.—Ce bronze mesure 22 millimètres et pèse 6 grammes. Il a été acheté en 1909 aux paysans de Bittir qui fouillaient alors en tous sens, mais trop superficiellement et sans ordre, le sommet de la montagne appelée encore aujourd'hui "Khirbet el Yahoud," où s'élevait jadis la forteresse de Bar Cochba.

Les monnaies de Bar Cochba sont nombreuses. Elles ont été frappées les unes sur des flans neufs, les autres sur des bronzes ou des deniers romains. Elles peuvent se diviser en trois classes : 1.) celles qui ne sont pas datées et qui présentent invariablement, au droit, le nom de "שמעון" "Simon," ; au revers, la légende "לחרות ירושלם," "La délivrance de Jérusalem." — 2.) Celles de la première année de la rédemption d'Israël "שנה אחת לנאלת ישראל" qui présentent, au droit, les noms d'Eléazar le prêtre, de Jérusalem, de Simon prince d'Israël. 3.) Enfin celles de l'an II de la délivrance d'Israël "ש.ב. לחרות ישראל" qui ne présentent, au droit, que le nom de "שמעון" "Simon," écrit en toutes lettres ou en abrégé. Seul—et c'est là ce qui fait son intérêt et lui donne une valeur exceptionnelle—le bronze de Ste Anne présente, au droit, non pas le seul nom de "שמעון" "Simon" mais le nom de Simon accompagné du titre "נשיא ישראל" "Prince d'Israël" ; au revers, "L'an II de la délivrance d'Israël."

Dans deux articles de la Zeitschrift für Numismatik (année 1873 et 1877) Merzbacher publiait un bronze faisant partie de la collection Wigan et portant, au droit, une palme dans une couronne avec la légende „שמעון נשיא“ „Simon prince,, ; au revers, une lyre à cinq cordes avec la portion de légende „ישראל“ „Israël,,. Cet auteur proposait ingénieusement de compléter la légende du revers par l'addition des lettres „ש.ב. לחר“ „L'an II de la délivrance,, insinuant par là que sur les monnaies de l'an II aussi bien que sur celles de l'an I ou gravait le titre de „נשיא“ prince ; par suite que les monnaies portant les légendes „Simon, prince d'Israël. Première année de la rédemption d'Israël,,. devaient être classées non à la première révolte sous Vespasien mais à la seconde sous Hadrien. Ce n'était là cependant qu'une supposition. Madden, qui les attribuait à un Simon Nasi de la première révolte, déclara qu'il ne souscrirait à la proposition de Merzbacher que si on lui apportait non pas une supposition mais une preuve solide fondée sur un exemplaire bien conservé et parfaitement lisible : “But this suggestion cannot be accepted without the positive proof afforded by a wellpreserved and legible specimen.” En attendant il continua d'attribuer cette monnaie à la première révolte. Or en 1892 L. Hamburger publiait dans la belle étude qu'il a consacrée aux monnaies des révoltes Juives un bronze dont le revers répondait de tous points à celui de l'exemplaire de Merzbacher et portait : ש.ב. לחר ישראל „L'an II de la délivrance d'Israël. “Or si la comparaison entre les deux exemplaires autorisait à admettre l'opinion de Merzbacher, ce n'était pas encore”, la preuve solide, fondée sur un exemplaire bien conservé et parfaitement lisible que Madden réclamait, car le bronze publié par Hamburger était hybride et au “lieu de présenter au droit comme celui de Merzbacher la légende „שמעון נשיא ישראל“ „Simon, prince d'Israël” il portait simplement „לחרת ירושלם“ „La délivrance de Jérusalem”—Cette preuve est apportée par le bronze du médaillier de Ste Anne. Ce bronze est bien conservé, il est parfaitement lisible et a des légendes complètes : au droit. „שמעון נשיא ישראל“ „Simon prince d'Israël,, ; au revers „ש.ב. לחר ישאל“ „L'an II de la délivrance d'Israël,,.

J'en ai dit assez, semble-t-il, pour montrer l'intérêt que présente cette monnaie au point de vue de la Numismatique Judaïque. J'ai ajouté qu'elle était extrêmement rare. Elle ne se trouve en effet ni au Département de Médailles de la Bibliothèque Nationale, comme j'ai pu m'en convaincre moi-même en 1914 ; ni au British Museum puisque le catalogue, si complet cependant, des monnaies juives publié par M. Hill en 1914, ne le mentionne pas. Monsieur Raphaëli qui en 1913 publia en langue hébraïque un ouvrage sur les monnaies juives ne la signale pas non plus. Enfin lorsque, en 1912, je la publiai dans la Revue Numismatique, un numismate allemand, Mr Carl Mayer, n'ayant jamais rencontré ce type de monnaie et confondant les numéros de la planche avec ceux du corps de l'article, crut à une mauvaise lecture de ma part. Il reconnut son erreur quand, sur sa demande, je lui eus envoyé empreinte et mou-

lage ; dans une lettre qu'il m'adressa le 3 mars 1914 il s'offrit même à acquérir pour sa collection personnelle le bronze de Ste. Anne. Vous devinez la réponse. Ainsi ce bronze du médaillier de Ste Anne semble non seulement très rare mais encore, du moins à ma connaissance, unique.

Et maintenant quelles conclusions tirer ? Celles-là même que proposait Merzbacher, il y a quarante ans : (1) "Sur les monnaies de l'an II aussi bien que sur celles de l'an I ou gravait le titre de "Nasi,, ; (2) les monnaies portant les légendes : "Simon, prince d'Israël ; Première année de la Rédemption d'Israël," doivent être attribuées non à la première révolte sous Vespasien, mais à la seconde, sous Hadrien.

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„ „ 1913, p. 404 ; et 1914, pp. 244, 245.





## THE AMORITE NAME JERUSALEM.

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The earliest known writing of the name of the city of Jerusalem is to be found in the letters of Abdi-Hiba, governor of the city, to Amenophis IV, about 1400 B.C., in which *U-ru-sa-lim* is written in the Babylonian script, the *lingua franca* of that era. Of the extra-Biblical forms of the name the next in point of antiquity is that found in an Assyrian inscription of Sennacherib (705-681 B.C.), in which *Ur-sa-li-im-mu* is written. In a Nabataean inscription of one bearing a Jewish name, Nathaniah, the Aramaic form, 'Urshalem (אֲרִישָׁלַם) is found. There are also preserved a Mandaic form 'Urāshalēm (אוראשלאם), a Syriac 'Urishtem, and an Arabic, which is quoted by Yakut from a pre-Islamic poet, 'Ursalimu (اورسالمو).<sup>(1)</sup> The six writings, from six different quarters, all point to 'Ur or 'Uru as being the first element of the name.

The consonantal text of the Old Testament gives יְרוּשָׁלַם, and in several late passages יְרוּשָׁלַם. The latter appears also upon coins, perhaps of the time of Simon 142-135 B.C. These consonantal forms have been vocalized Yerushalayim. The Septuagint transliteration Ἰερουσαλῆμ shows that in the late Hebrew the name was actually pronounced something like Jerusalem instead of Yerushalayim. Another early Greek form is found in a passage of Soli, a pupil of Aristotle, which is quoted by Josephus. Here the name is written Ἰερουσαλήμη.<sup>(2)</sup>

The explanation of the Hebrew form of the name has occasioned considerable difficulty in all periods. The Midrash *Beresith Rabba*, 89 explains how Abraham, having called the place *Jirah* יִרְאָה Gen. 22:14, and Shem (meaning Melchizedek) having called it *Shalem*, the Almighty, who was unwilling to disavow either, gave it both names, *Yireh-Shalem*. Jerome in his *Onomastica* explained the name as meaning ὄρεσις εἰρήνης. Modern etymologists have explained the name as meaning "possession of peace," "foundation of peace," "the foundation of security," "Shalem founds," "Shalem casts the lot," "he casts a perfect or peaceful, secure lot," etc.<sup>(3)</sup> After the discovery of *Uru-salim* in the Amarna letters, written in the Babylonian script, many scholars looked upon this as containing the original form of the name, and especially as a similar pronunciation has been preserved in the forms quoted in Assyrian, Aramaic, Syriac, Mandaic, and Arabic.

Several decades ago, when scholars followed the trend of the pan-Babylonists, and looked upon the Canaanite culture and re-

(1) See Smith *Jerusalem* 1, p. 252 f.

(2) See Smith *ibid.* 1, p. 260.

(3) See Smith *ibid.* 1, p. 258 f.

ligion as importations from Babylonia, *Uru* the first element of the name was regarded as Sumerian, meaning "city," and the second as Semitic; the full name *Uru-salim* meaning "city of Salem," "city of peace," "place of safety," "the city of peace," etc. <sup>(1)</sup> Haupt considered that the dialectical Sumerian *eri* for *uri* passed into Hebrew as *'ir* (עיר) "city;" from this *y* disappeared, and the initial element *Jeru* was derived.

The Aramaic, Syriac, Mandaic and Arabic forms of the name do not bear out Haupt's contention; it follows that the proposed etymology for *'ir* "city" is not to be taken seriously. Moreover, since the evidence for the influence of Babylonia upon Canaan, except for the use of the language and script which were employed in the second millennium B.C. throughout Western Asia and Egypt as the *lingua franca*, is comparatively insignificant, as the writer and others have contended,<sup>(2)</sup> it follows that the proposal to find in the name *Uru-salim* a Sumerian and a Semitic element is, to say the least, precarious. Hitherto, it has seemed as if such place names as Nebo, Beth 'Anoth, Bit NIN-IB, Bethlehem, etc., showed influences from this quarter; but even these, the writer feels he has conclusively shown, contain the names of West Semitic deities. <sup>(3)</sup>

In short, we have in Palestine a very ancient culture indigenous to the land known to the ancient Babylonians as Amurru, which extended from the borders of Babylonia to the Mediterranean. This was considerably influenced by Egypt, but very little by Babylonia prior to the exile. In two monographs, *Amurru the Home of the Northern Semites*, and *The Empire of the Amorites*, which followed the writer's discovery that the name of the god *Amur(ru)* (אמר) was written in Aramaic 'Awuru or 'Uru (אור), the widespread worship of this deity is fully set forth. The early Semites who moved from Amurru (Mesopotamia and Syria) into Babylonia, especially in the period prior to 2000 B.C., carried the worship of this deity with them. Many West Semitic names in the early cuneiform literature are found compounded with that of this deity. The names of at least four of the ten antediluvian rulers of Babylonia contain the name 'Uru, as: 'Αλωρος (אור-ל), 'Αλαπαρος (אור-לפ), 'Αμλλαρος (אור-מל), and Μεγαλαρος (אור-מג). Subsequent to 2000 B. C. when the Amorites lost their dominant position, the deity Amurru or 'Uru ceased to occupy<sup>(4)</sup> a prominent place among the deities of Babylonia as becomes evident from a study of the nomenclature of that land.

(1) See Sayce *Academy*, Feb. 7, 1891; Haupt *Polychrome Bible*, Isaiah, Ed. notes, p. 100; Nestle *ZAPV* 57, 155; Zimmern *KAT* 3 p. 475.

(2) See Clay "Light on the Old Testament from Babel," 17 ff; Vincent *Canaan d'après l'exploration recente*, pp. 341, 439; Nowack *Theol. Literaturzeitung*, 1908, No. 26. Clay *Amurru the Home of the Northern Semites*, p. 27.

(3) See *Empire of the Amorites*, p. 169, 178, 180, f.

(4) For a full discussion of the influence of this deity upon the nomenclature of Babylonia, see *Empire of the Amorites*.

The contention that this deity came from the land of the Western Semites being correct, it would seem that traces of the worship should be found in the nomenclature of the Old Testament, as well as preserved in place names, ancient and modern, in these West lands.

Among the personal names of the Old Testament are found Ur, Uri, Uriel, Urijah, and Shedeur. The Septuagint transliterations of these names show that the element is 'Ur, and not 'Or "light."

The name 'Ur (אִיר), the father of one of David's heroes (1 Ch. 11:35), is perhaps abbreviated, containing one element of the original name, that of the deity. 'Uri (אִירִי) of the time of Moses (Ex. 31:2), appears to be a similar name, with what some scholars call the "kose suffix," like Mordecai. The name 'Uriah (אִורִיָּה), belonging to the Hittite in the time of David (2 Sam. 11:3), may be Hittite; but since we have many examples of non-Semites bearing Semitic names, it is not impossible that this name is Semitic and similar to the following. 'Urijah (אִירִיָּהּ), the name of a priest, time of Ahaz, (2 Kings 16:13), means 'Uru is Jāwah. Such syncretistic formations, identifying one god with another, are very common, especially among peoples whose religion was extensively influenced by other religions. The nomenclature of Babylonia, for example, contains many such names. There are also many examples among the names of deities as Ashtar-Chemosh, Hadad-Rimmon, 'Attar-'Ate, Itur-Mer, Jāwah-Shalom, etc. The name 'Uriel (אִירִיֶּל) "'Uru is God", of the tribe of Levi (1 Ch. 6:24), and Shedeur (שִׁדְיֹאִר) "Shaddai is 'Uru", time of Moses, also contain the name of the deity. How many more personal names of the Old Testament originally contained that of the deity 'Uru, but have been handed down in an altered or disguised form, it is impossible to say. That names were changed on religious grounds is well known. Fortunately in a number of instances both the original and the altered forms have been preserved, as Jerubbaal and Jerubbesheth, Meribbaal and Mephibosheth, Beeliada and Eliada. Compare also the place names Beth-el and Beth-aven.

The name Jerusalem seems to be an example of this process. After David's time, when the city became the great centre for the worship of Jāwah, it is easy to understand how the name of this ancient Amorite city, which contained the name of the Amorite god 'Uru, became obnoxious to the Hebrews. The dropping of the initial א in this name (see below), left ו initial, but this, as is well known, usually, when initial, became י in Hebrew. The fact is we have several examples in Aramaic and Punic inscriptions of the dropping of the initial א in this deity's name. It is now admitted that אֱלֹהִי in the stele inscription which Zakir of Hamath and La'ash dedicated to this deity, is the same as El 'Uru<sup>(1)</sup>.

(1) See Clay *Amurru* p. 157 ff.



Recently Lidzbarski published an Aramaic letter of the time of Ashurbanipal in which פורר = Pir'-Uru occurs (ZA 31). Cf. the names ורסן and ורסן in Punic inscriptions from Algiers and Thugga; also two other names ורמך and וריו.<sup>(1)</sup> If this explanation of the name Jerusalem is correct it becomes senseless to attempt to explain the difficult element *Jeru* in Jerusalem as meaning "vision", "fear," "possession," "foundation", "founds", "casts the lot," etc. The whole name means rather something like "Uru is appeased".<sup>(2)</sup>

The name or epithet 'Ariel, used by Isaiah for Jerusalem (Is. 29:1), has been translated "the lion of God," or "the hearth of God," etc. It is generally agreed that אריאל, found in an inscription from Byblus, belonging to the fourth or fifth century B.C., is defectively written for אורמלך; and that this name is the same as *Uru-milki*, found in the Amarna letters.<sup>(3)</sup> The present writer further contends that it contains the name of the deity 'Uru.<sup>(4)</sup> The name אריאל for the same reason could mean "'Uru is God". This seems reasonable in the light of the fact that the name Jerusalem contains the name 'Uru, and that probably the city was dedicated to that deity (see below). It is interesting to observe that Cheyne regarded 'Uriel as the proper reading, and considered that it was used by the prophet to make a paronomasia with *Uru-salim* (*Encl. Biblica*). It is easy to understand how such a name meaning "'Uru is God" would have been introduced by the old residents after the occupation of the city by the Hebrews.

The evidence which has been preserved in the Old Testament concerning the altering of names makes reasonable the identification of Salem with Jerusalem, which has been held for centuries. Uru-salem may have been preserved in an old manuscript of the fourteenth chapter of Genesis and perhaps also of the seventy-sixth Psalm. Moreover, prior to the introduction of Jerusalem the abbreviated Salem, doubtless, was more acceptable to these Hebrews who were familiar with the original meaning.

Eighteen miles to the northwest of Jerusalem are two towns, at present called Beit 'Ur el Fôkâ, and Beit 'Ur et Tahtâ. In the Old Testament the names of the towns are written בית חורן עליון and בית חורן תחתון. These names are translated "house of the hole (or hollow), the upper", "house of the hole (or hollow), the lower." The Septuagint transliterates the name Βεθωγα, Βαιθωρω, Βαιθωρω. Although the modern name in Arabic has preserved an initial 'ain it seems in the light of the present discussion, that the name was probably Bêth 'Uru, "the house of Uru", a name like Bêth Shemesh, Bêth Anoth, Beit Dejun (Dagan), Beit Lahm (Lahmu), etc. Moreover,

(1) See Clay *Amurru* p. 160.

(2) See Clay *ibid* p. 178.

(3) Cooke *North Semitic Inscriptions* p. 20.

(4) *Amurru* p. 157.

it is not unreasonable to suggest that the late Hebrew writers intentionally disguised the name. The proximity of the city to Jerusalem, being in its territory, suggests at least some possible connections with Bit NIN-IB of the Amarna letters.

In a syllabary in the Yale Babylonian collection the writer found the following formula :

*Ur-ta* | *IB* | *u-ra-shu* | *sha* <sup>d</sup>*NIN-IB shu-ma*

which means that the sign *IB*, called *urashu*, is to be read *ur-ta* in the deity's name <sup>d</sup>*NIN-IB*.<sup>(1)</sup> In other words it is now ascertained that *NIN-IB* is a Sumerian ideographic writing for the West Semitic *Ba'alat Urta*<sup>(2)</sup> "lady or goddess Urta." Since the Amarna letters inform us that the shrine of the goddess was in the territory of Jerusalem, one cannot help but be impressed with the idea, especially in view of the name *Uru-salem*, that in the early period of the history of this district not only the worship of the god 'Uru figured prominently in this vicinity but also that of his consort 'Urta or 'Urtu.

In spite of the fact that the Amorite or Jebusite inhabitants of Jerusalem were spared after David captured the city and that they continued to live here, no information is offered in the Old Testament to enable us to determine what was done with the Amorite sanctuary and where it was located; moreover, no light is offered us concerning the patron deity of the city. It seems the only reasonable conclusion to suppose that the religious zeal of the later Hebrews caused the systematic eradication of all traces of the former worship from the pages of the Old Testament.

Efforts have been made by scholars to determine the *genius loci* of the place. Shalem or Shulman, as a probable title of Ninib, was regarded by Zimmern as the deity (*KAT*<sup>3</sup> 474 f.). Since the names Melki-Zedek, king of Salem, time of Abraham, Adoni-Zedek, king of Jerusalem, time of Joshua (Jos. 10:1), Zadok, who was priest at the time of David, contained the name of the deity Šadeq, it has been inferred that he was the patron god of the city. Naturally this deity may have been worshipped here, but since, however, the name of the city is compounded with that of Uru, and the temple of Urtu (*Bit-NIN-IB*) was in the territory of the city, it is not unreasonable to assume that Uru and Urtu were the chief deities of this locality. This being true, 'Ariel or 'Uriel, with the meaning "Uru is God", was appropriately substituted by Isaiah for the name Jerusalem in his address to the city, which, doubtless, had continued to worship that god.

(1) See Clay *Miscellaneous Inscriptions in the Yale Babylonian Collection*.

(2) *Empire of the Amorites* p. 73 ff.

QUELQUES OBSERVATIONS RELATIVES  
A L'INSCRIPTION JUIVE DECOUVERTE A AIN DOUK <sup>(1)</sup>.  
NAHUM SLOUSCH.

(Jerusalem.)

Le R.P. Vincent a consacré une magistrale étude<sup>(2)</sup> a l'inscription Hébreu araméenne qui provient d'un ancien Sanctuaire Juif à Aïn-Douk. Cette dernière offre beaucoup de points de rapprochement avec l'inscription provenant de la synagogue de Kafr Kenna, dont voici le texte.

דִּכְר לְמַב יוֹסִי בֵּר  
נְחֻמִּים בֵּר בּוֹטָה וְכִנּוּי  
רַעְבְּרִין הָרָה מַבְלָה  
תְּהִי לְהוֹן בְּרַכְתָּא  
אִמֵּן

L'écriture des deux inscriptions appartient à la même époque étant donné la différence très nette qui existe entre la lettre, ה et ה, surtout si nous tenons compte de la forme des lettres sur les épitaphes que le P. Abel avait déchiffré sur les tombeaux juifs de Châfat (qui pourraient bien émaner du premier Siècle). En revanche, la lettre פ accuse une forme plus arcaïque.

Quant à la langue de cette inscription elle rappelle parfaitement celle du Talmud Jérusalemite et surtout celle de la liturgie Judéo-araméenne (la prière du Kaddish, celle de יְקִים פּוֹרָק etc.)

Qu'il me soit permis d'apporter quelques contributions à la savante interprétation que nous devons au P. Vincent :

Voici, d'ailleurs, le texte complet de l'inscription.

ד [ כִּיר לְמַב  
בְּנִימִין פִּינִס (?)  
בֵּר יוֹסִה  
ד [ כִּירִין לְמַב כָּל טֵן  
ד [ מַתְחֻק וִיהָ אִו  
ד [ הִכ בְּהָדֵן אַתְרָה  
ק [ דִּישָׁה בֵּן דָּהָב בֵּן  
כֶּס [ פִּן בֵּן כָּל מַקְמָה  
ת [ הִיא ] לְהֵן [ וְ חֻקְהֵן  
בְּהָדֵן אַתְרָה קְרִישָׁה  
אִמֵּן

(1) V. le *Sidour*, le livre des prières Juives, section du Sabbath.

(2) Revue Biblique 1919 p. 530 etc.



*Traduction et commentaires :*

1. **Memoire ou bonne part (Vincent).**

2. **בנימין Benjamin**, la première lettre indique la tendance d'introduire des matres lectionis dans les textes hebreux tendance, qui se manifeste depuis les premiers siècles de l'ère chrétienne. ויכרונו de l'inscription de rabbi Youdan de Jaffa, etc.

(ה) **פנים** Le nom du frère du premier ou de son père avec l'omission du בן fils nous parut certain. A noter la mention de José fils de Tanhum fils de Buta et de ses fils par l'inscription de Kafr Kenna. L'épithaphe No. 1 de Sha'fat a également פניהם le, après le פ. Quant à la difformité פניהם je renvoie aux monnaies de Simon le Macchabée ou l'on lit a plusieurs reprises שמעון au lieu de שמעון<sup>1</sup> cependant la leçon פניהם proposée par M. Clermont Ganneau est très tentante.

3. **Fils du José.** A noter que l'inscription de Kafr Kenna a également une liste de trois générations

4. **Qui soient en heureuse mémoire chacun de ceux qui.**<sup>2</sup>

5. **Quiconque sera (ou sera) vaillant et fera un don.** דמהחוק est un terme qui n'est plus usité dans les textes de la synagogue. Mais il est fréquent dans le livre de Nehémie surtout en ce qui concerne la construction de Mur de Jérusalem, par exemple על ידו החוק (Nehémie III passim) ou וגם במלאכה דחמה הזאת החוקתי (Ibid. V. 16).

6. **Qui a donné pour ce lieu** je lis דהב Le terme יהב est fréquent dans le Talmud de Jérusalem. cf. Berachot VII, II יריב מן יריב etc.

L'ensemble se lit ainsi : **Quiconque fera don ou a donné pour ce lieu.**

7. **Saint ; soit en or, soit en (argent) soit en tout objet de valeur.**

בן ... בין ... soit...soit... בין ... soit...soit... L'absence de la lettre indiquerait une prononciation בן ou une date plus ancienne. Cette lecture est d'ailleurs confirmée par le texte de Jonas IV, 10 בן לילה היה ובין לילה אבר.

מקמה. valeur ou objet de valeur est un terme fréquent dans le Talmud de Jérusalem. cf. V. Nedarim XI. 42° ou nous rencontrons, d'ailleurs, presque la même formule ריב ליה מקמהמבה (qui lui donne beaucoup de valeurs).

(1) Pareil déplacement, des lettres se retrouvent, d'ailleurs dans plusieurs textes déplacement provenant des synagogues de la Galilée.

(2) A noter l'analogie avec le texte de la prière ou on lit. בל מאן דעסקין etc.

Le Midrash Rabba a souvent מקמא ou מקמא (Cf. Berechit 73,12 Shemot 30,12.)

Au commencement de la ligne 8 les restes, de la lettre ס sont presque certaines, seulement la  $\text{ס}$  ressemble plutôt à un ו (plus large que les autres dans le même texte. Il s'agirait d'une erreur du graveur, la lettre ס de la l. 2 étant très archaïque rappelle le phénicien. On s'attendrait d'après de nombreux contextes de voir venir après l'or, l'argent, puis tout objet de valeur.<sup>(1)</sup>

9. Que leur soit une part de possession, comme le traduit le P. Vincent ou bien que ce soit un réconfort pour eux :

היה להם חוקה cette formule est à rapprocher de celle de l'inscription de Katr Kenna et de la prière recitée, ou on lit יהא לרן ברבא D'ailleurs la  $\text{א}$  finale de היה comme d'ailleurs l'emploi du terme חוקה et surtout les ה finales (au lieu de la lettre א usitée par les textes écrits) indiquerait une époque rabbinique fort ancienne.

אחר קריש Lieu Saint. Formule qui se retrouve dans la prière du Kaddish, mais qui est généralement usitée en Hébreu מקום קדוש Quoiqu'il en soit, ce terme comme le texte tout entier nous permet de classer cette inscription parmi les textes relatifs aux synagogues de la Galilée. Le lieu Saint d'Aïn Douk serait donc un sanctuaire Juif traditionnel qui se rattache aux premiers siècles de l'ère chrétienne.

Rien d'ailleurs, ne s'oppose à l'ingénieuse dissertation du P. Vincent qui tend à retrouver sur l'emplacement de la Synagogue d'Aïn Douk les traces d'un sanctuaire biblique fort ancien.

L'inscription offre en outre un intérêt tout spécial au point de vue de la liturgie Juive, parce qu'elle permet d'attribuer à une origine palestinienne très ancienne certaines parties de la liturgie qui sont écrites en Judéo-araméen, telle que le קדוש, le יקום ברוך etc

1. Je n'ai pas pu voir l'interprétation de M. Clerment Ganneau mais je constate que le dernier No. de la revue du Palestine Exploration Fund propose la même explication, pour ce qui est de ce passage.

## A JERUSALEM PROCESSIONAL

J. P. PETERS

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Working on the Psalms over thirty years, I have been more and more impressed with the amount of local colour in them, and the failure of scribes and commentators to note this from lack of personal familiarity with Palestine. My attention was first called to this in connexion with Ps. 89. Verse 13 reads :

"North and south, Thou hast created them :  
Tabor and Hermon rejoice in Thy name".

To any one who has travelled in northern Galilee, and had Tabor and Hermon as his landmarks of south and north, this breathes the atmosphere of that country. None could have written it but a Galilæan. So far as I know, however, no commentator has noticed this. Prof. Briggs in his commentary in the "International Critical Commentary" series (II. 257) says :—"Tabor and Hermon, the chief mountain peaks of the Holy Land, Tabor commanding the great plain of Esdraelon, and Hermon, the giant of Lebanon, commanding the greater part of the entire land, representatives therefore of the mountains." This is to miss the local force of the allusion entirely. It led Briggs to a false dating of this part of the Psalm, and a false reference of it. He says (233): "The Psalm indicates a period of peace and quietness in which the public worship of Yahweh in the Temple was enjoyed by Israel, and this not until the troubled times of the Restoration were over, some time subsequent to Nehemiah, when peace and prosperity were enjoyed under the Persian rule of Artaxerxes II (458-404 B.C.)." Equally vivid are the local allusions in several of the Psalms of the collection entitled "Of the Sons of Korah" (42-49), such as the mention of the land of Jordan and the roaring of its fountain beneath Hermon by Tel Kadi (42); and the river on which the Temple stood (46). A study of the Korah Psalms on the ground forced me to the conclusion that they could only be ascribed to psalmists of the temple of Dan, which I set forth in an article in the Briggs memorial volume.

With this brief introduction, I wish to present what I think I may describe as a new discovery. Vv. 6-8 of Ps. 84 have proved a stumbling block. There is no translation of them which makes real sense, and after taking most unjustifiable liberties with the text, and giving to individual words meanings which they have nowhere else, commentators have still left the passage quite unintelligible to the ordinary reader. So the Revised Version (American) reads :

"Blessed is the man whose strength is in thee;  
In whose heart are the highways to Zion.  
Passing through the valley of weeping  
They make it a place of springs;  
Yea, the early rain covereth it with blessings.  
They go from strength to strength;  
Every one of them appeareth before God in Zion."



Prof. Briggs, in his volume in the International Commentary, taking somewhat greater liberties with the text and omitting the first half of v. 6 altogether, reads:—

"The highways are in the minds of those who pass on in the vale of weeping. He maketh it a place of springs; yea, the early rain clotheth it with blessings.

They go on from battlement to battlement in order to appear before God, Yahweh in Zion, Yahweh the God of Hosts."

Absolutely literally, with one slight change of text<sup>(1)</sup>, supported by the Septuagint version, this passage reads:

"Happy the man whose strength is in Thee. Causeways in the midst of them<sup>(2)</sup> they have passed over. In the valley of weeping the fountain<sup>(3)</sup> that they make. Also the pool<sup>(4)</sup> the leader<sup>(5)</sup> encircleth<sup>(6)</sup>.

They go from rampart to rampart. Is seen the God of gods in Zion."

The first clause is a liturgical phrase to be chanted or sung. The remaining phrases are rubrical and describe or prescribe accurately the course of a procession from the western hill, overlooking the Temple area, across the causeway or bridge between the two hills, connecting them, down the lower Tyropoeon valley, past the so-called fountain of Siloam, made<sup>(7)</sup> by carrying the waters of the Gihon spring into the Tyropoeon valley.

Then the leader, bending to the right, must swing around the pool of Siloam in a circle, which brings the procession to the southernmost end of the hill of Ophel, and its first scarp. Up this hill they go, from scarp to scarp, where once its various ramparts stood, until the procession reaches the southern gate of the Temple, and appears to God in Zion. The road exactly as here designated exists to-day, and I have traced it step by step, following the directions of this Psalm; and it exists to-day following in its details the rubrics of this Psalm, (except only that it does not reach the south gate of the Temple, since there is none) because it is the route ordained by the topography, now as then.

(1) עברי (7) to עברו (or possibly עבר), and connected with the preceding verse (6), as the metre manifestly requires.

(2) בלכנם in the midst of or between them; i.e. the causeway or bridge between the two hills, the western hill and Zion.

(3) מעין The very name applied to-day in Jerusalem to the point of issue of the water of the Virgin spring through the tunnel in the Tyropoeon Valley, because of the intermittent gush of water, which causes it to be regarded as a fountain, not a pool.

(4) Birket, as in the Hebrew consonant Text. The name applied to-day to the lower pool of Siloam; or perhaps a plural ברכות, covering both the upper pool, which catches the water of the fountain, and the lower and larger pool, now a garden bed, which formerly received the drainage of the valley.

(5) מורה from ירה, teacher or leader. The translation *early rain* is a pure invention without any support.

(6) עטה means to encircle or enwrap as with a cloak. It has absolutely no other meaning in Hebrew.

(7) The word "make" or "made," שיתורו (yod) in the text, suggests the peculiarity of this fountain, as one made by men, not by nature.

Now read the Psalm with the topography in view. The ceremony commenced on the western hill, about where the great Jewish synagogues now stand, where the valley separating the two hills is at its narrowest and the western hill rises sharply, so that one looks down thence into the Haram-esh-Shereef, the old Temple area, across the Tyropoeon. Here was sung the first stanza, as the first sacrifice was offered:—

2. "How beloved Thine abode, LORD of Hosts!
3. I have longed, yea fainted for the courts of the LORD,  
With heart and body I raise the joy cry to the God of my life.
4. The very birds have found a home,  
And the swallow a nest where she put her young,  
Thine altars, LORD of Hosts,  
My king and my God.
5. (Refrain) Happy they that inhabit Thine house,  
That always sing Thy praise!"

SELAH.

It is a vivid and beautiful picture of what one sees even to-day as one looks down from that high point into the Temple court beneath and across the valley. Then the procession starts with rhythmic clapping of hands and stamping of staves, as all chant or intone "Happy he whose strength is in Thee", precisely as one may see religious processions marching in Jerusalem to-day, iterating and reiterating some short phrase or phrases, the sound now almost dying away, now swelling into a shout, as new voices join in, or something arouses new zeal or energy. The procession crosses the bridge or causeway connecting the two hills,<sup>(1)</sup> probably at Robinson's arch just below the Haram area, the natural point for a causeway or bridge, because here the valley is at its narrowest, and then follows the road to the right down the valley just below the walls of David's City, into and through the valley of weeping<sup>(2)</sup>, and past the fountain<sup>(3)</sup> which has been made or is being made there. There the leader is to bend to the right, as the road does now, and fetch a circuit about the Pool of Siloam.<sup>(4)</sup>

(1) Perhaps as early as Hezekiah's time the city had spread over on to the western hill, occupying its highest part, roughly from a line drawn east from the Jaffa Gate along the southern line of the valley running down into the Tyropoeon, and bounded on the south by about the line of the present wall. This was connected with the eastern city by a causeway or bridge, as in the Herodian city, occupying about the same position.

(2) The excavations of the Assumptionists on the eastern side of the western hill above the Siloam fountain and pool have shown that in the earlier times, and presumably until some time not long before the Christian era, this area was occupied by graves and tombs. Hence probably the name valley of weeping, as similarly of the valley of weepers near Bethel (Jud. 2 : 1).

(3) This fountain is peculiar in that it is made by the tunnel through Ophel, and does not spring out of the ground naturally. The tunnel is generally supposed to have been cut in Hezekiah's time, the close of the 8th century. The Hebrew text reads *that is made or set*; the Greek, *was made or set*. Apparently it was not so old at this time of composition of our Psalm that the remembrance of its construction was forgotten.

(4) The water from the tunnel, which discharges intermittently, is caught in a small pool, the outlet of which is carried beneath, not into the Birket or large pool, thus reaching the valley below. The large pool, like the other *birkets* about Jerusalem, simply caught and impounded the water flowing down the valley. To-day no water flows down the valley, the bed of the *birket* is gardens, but the water from the tunnel is carried underneath, not into it. It is much larger than the small pool or tank at the mouth of the tunnel, and extends further to the west, so that the road makes a circuit about it.

So the procession finds itself at the foot of the high rock which constitutes the southern end of Ophel. This rock is scarped and was evidently fortified and battlemanted, the lowest rampart of the old city of David. The hill goes up almost like steps, as a model of the rock levels shows. Indeed this hill is peculiar in its succession of knolls of which are still clearly marked the knoll where stands the Dome of the Rock, beyond this the Baris or Antonia, and beyond this Bezetha. At a point approximately above the Virgin's Spring is what seems once to have been another high knoll, the southern edge of which still presents a steep surface towards the south, suggesting a battlement or rampart similar to that at the extreme southern point of the hill. Here it is supposed once stood David's citadel, on the rock summit cut down with such vast toil in the Maccabaeen period to prevent it from dominating or rivalling the Temple. From this the road would have dipped down to a portion of the hill of lower level, crossing which it again ascended to the ramparts of Zion or the Temple enclosure, and to-day this part of the ascent is more gradual. The ascent of the eastern hill to the Temple court was then very literally a going *from rampart to rampart*. It will be observed that this road would have led the procession to the south gate of the Temple, the regular entrance in Herod's time, and presumably also in the earlier period when David's city lay to the south of the Temple. That gate reached, the sanctuary and the altar before it would become visible to the leaders of the procession, and "the God of gods is seen in Zion". Then follows the prayer cry, and presumably sacrifice before the threshold :

"LORD God of Hosts, hear my prayer ;  
Hearken, God of Jacob,                    SELAH"

The third stanza (10-13), completing the liturgy, gives us glimpses of certain of the ceremonies and forms of the ritual within the Temple ; the prostration of the worshippers with forehead to the ground, like so many threshold stones (הַמִּסּוּפָה, v. 11), and the ritual purification (בְּתִמִּים, v. 12) before the great sacrificial feast, part of the obligation to fulfil exactly the ritual laws, the fulfilment of which brings favourable answer and blessing from God. It reads :—<sup>(1)</sup>

10. "Behold, O God, our shield,  
And regard the face of Thine anointed, (2)
11. For better a day in Thy courts than an army. (3)  
I had rather be the threshold in God's house,

(1) For the general method of such a processional ritual, with sacrifice at various stages, ending with the great sacrifice and sacrificial feast at the close, cf. 2, Sam 6:12-19. I think that we have a liturgy intended for similar use in Pss. 42-43, of which Prof. Briggs says (II. 225) : "Ps. 84 resembles 42-43, and probably had the same author."

(2) מַשִּׁיחָה, evidence that it was a hymn for the royal sacrifice, and therefore pre-exilic.

(3) Hebrew אֶלֶף, *thousand*, that is a band of 1000 men, a regiment.



12. Than a fortress (ד) in the city of the godless,  
For sun and shield is the LORD of Hosts  
Favour and honour the LORD giveth,  
And refuseth no good to them that walk in cleanness,
13. (Refrain) LORD of Hosts,  
Happy he who trusteth in Thee."

The last stanza helps to fix the date. It evidently belongs to the old days of battle, when warrior kings held their own in Zion by force of arms, when the Temple was the royal shrine, and sacrifices were offered for and in the name of the King, God's anointed. Such sacrifices were regarded as equally necessary to the king's success against his heathen or godless enemies with his armies. Its similarity to Ps. 42-43, like which it is ascribed to the Sons of Korah, suggests that this Psalm also was originally a processional liturgy of the temple of Dan, afterwards adopted into the Jerusalem Psalter, but with considerable changes to adapt it to its new use. So in general God (אלהים) was changed to LORD (יהוה), but above all the second stanza was purged entirely of its original local references, for which were substituted rubrical directions for the new ritual, while the original refrain of this stanza or part of it was made the marching chorus to be repeated at intervals throughout the procession. The date of this Psalm in its present shape, it would appear from these considerations, must have been somewhere between the fall of Samaria (721 B.C.), or slightly earlier, at which time the literature of Israel began to be taken over and adopted in Judah, and the capture and destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, approximately a century and a half later.

It may be asked why this Psalm underwent so much change while we have the companion liturgy, 42, 43, in almost if not quite its original form as a Psalm of Dan. We have in the collection 42-49, apparently, a group of or selection from the old Dan Psalter, taken over together and preserved almost intact, even to the old use of Elohim. Such changes as were made, apparently, outside of some refrains and liturgical phrases, were of a literary character. Other Psalms of this Psalter did not have the same history. Not included in the selection above referred to, they yet found their way to Jerusalem and into use in the Temple, undergoing considerable changes in the process, until at last, with a few other Psalms from the northern kingdom, they were gathered together, copied and added to the already existing collections of Psalms of the Sons of Korah and of Asaph to form the third book of Psalms.

Interesting evidence of the method in which this was done is furnished by two notes in Psalm 88. Vs. 9 ends: "Finished (כלא) I do not go on" ("go out or go forth"), which, seeming impossible, has been translated: "I am shut up and I cannot come forth" (R.V.), or by some similar phrase, and supposed to refer to some imprisonment like that of Jeremiah in the pit. This quite spoils the Psalm. The last verse, 19, reads as follows:—"Thou hast put far from me lover and friend, mine acquaintance darkness", which

(1) דור cf. Ass. *duru*, wall, fortress.

with all the doctoring given it by translators and commentators remains quite unintelligible. The concluding words of both verses are notes by the scribe who was copying them. "Finished, I go not on";<sup>(1)</sup> that is, the tablet or manuscript which he was copying stopped short at this point, leaving the Psalm unfinished.

After the word "acquaintance" in v. 19 the scribe could decipher nothing further. He therefore wrote at this point "darkness" (כִּשְׁכָּה) i.e. unintelligible, or illegible. The two fragments (that they are fragments is clear among other things from the failure of the whole to get anywhere liturgically, as well as from the lack of development of the thought) were placed in juxtaposition because, I suppose, of their general resemblance to one another, and more particularly because of the striking resemblance of the closing verses of each. That these are in fact two Psalm fragments combined is testified to further by the double heading, unique in the entire Psalter, describing one part as "a song set to music of the Sons of Korah, to be led on maḥalath, to make penitence" (לַעֲנָה) and the other as a "maskil of Heman the Ezrahite."




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(1) Perhaps נֶשֶׁן should be changed to נֶשֶׁן, "it does not go on", נֶשֶׁן being due to an attempt to make sense by connecting this clause with the preceding.

## CONTRIBUTION À L'HISTOIRE DU VERBE HEBREU.

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(Nippa'el ou nif'al intensif.)

On sait que la forme verbale "Nif'al" avait à l'origine le sens d'une action réfléchie de même que le "Nitpa'el." Ce n'est que dans la suite des temps que le "Nif'al," changeant de sens, finit par remplacer le passif du "qal" (= ar. <sup>فَعِلَ</sup>), tombé en désuétude probablement à cause de son identité complète en hébreu avec la forme passive de l'Intensif au parfait (עֲזַבְתָּ נִפְעַל) du Causatif à l'Imparfait (יִתֵּן יָקָה). Quoi qu'il en soit, l'antiquité de notre langue connaissait deux formes réflexives : le "hitpa'el" ou réflexif avec "tave" et le "nif'al" ou réflexif avec "noune."

Il est curieux de noter en passant que le même changement d'acception originelle, qui atteignit en hébreu le réflexif avec "noune," affecta en araméen le réflexif avec "tave."

On serait donc en bon droit de s'étonner de l'énorme différence qui semble s'être manifestée dans la destinée morphologique de ces deux formes. En effet, le réflexif avec "tave," à prendre en considération les différentes langues sémitiques, peut affecter toutes les quatre formes principales du verbe : simple, intensive, conative (ou forme d'influence) et causative. Notre "Nitpa'el" habituel dérive de l'Intensif, comme le prouve le "dagesh fort" de la deuxième radicale, קָטַל vient de קָטַל. Il en est de même en

"arabe" pour la forme V ou <sup>فَعَّلَ</sup>. Mais ici nous rencontrons aussi.

très fréquemment, le même réflexif de la forme simple ( <sup>فَعَّلَ</sup> <sup>(1)</sup> ou f.

VIII.) ainsi que du Conatif (— <sup>فَعَّلَ</sup> ou f. VI). En araméen, nous le trouvons dérivé du "qal" (הִתְקַטַּל) ainsi que de l'Intensif (הִתְקַטַּל) et en syriaque—également du Causatif (= ettaqtal). Même en hébreu, nous avons conservé quelques exemples, isolés dans la Bible, du réflexif avec "tave" du qal : וַתִּתְקַדְּשׁוּ הַתְּבָרָכִים (Juges 20); ou bien des formes plus anciennes, comme תִּגְדַּלְתִּי (Osée II, 3), תִּתְחַרְרָה (Jer. 12, 5), מִתְחַרְרָה (ibid. 22, 15), provenant des racines רָגַל avec le "tave" réflexif. La forme X arabe ( <sup>اِسْتَفْعَلَ</sup> ) elle aussi n'est autre chose que le réflexif avec "tave" d'un ancien Causatif se retrouvant dans quelques langues sémitiques et dont la caractéristique est "sin" (minéen) ou "shin" (assyri.), Causatif dont plusieurs exemples pénétrèrent dans l'hébreu post-biblique sous l'influence des langues araméennes ( <sup>שָׁחַרְרָה</sup> etc.)

(1) Même métathèse en assyrien et, comme le prouve la stèle de Mésa, dans le dialecte moabite : הִתְחַרְרָה vient du "qal" comme לָחַם, en hébreu. En éthiopien point de métathèse, mais "taqtala,"



Or il en va tout autrement du réflexif avec "nounge." Celui-ci ne régnerait que sur une aire morphologique très restreinte. Certes, il se retrouve en arabe et en<sup>(1)</sup> assyrien. Mais il est bien unanimement admis par les philologues de la grammaire comparée des langues sémitiques que ce réflexif est tout entier l'apanage du verbe simple seulement, ne pouvant se dériver morphologiquement que du "qal,"<sup>(2)</sup> même dans le cas où son acception essentielle est tirée de *l'intensif* ou du causatif : נכבד est dérivé de כבד, malgré le sens essentiel qui vient de כבד ; נשמר est dérivé de שמר, malgré son acception tirée de השמיד.<sup>(3)</sup>

Ce phénomène est certainement fait pour étonner le chercheur et demande des explications. Pourquoi donc le réflexif avec "nounge" n'aurait-il été usité qu'au qal, c.à.d. sous la forme "nif'al" seulement, tandis que son compagnon réflexif avec "tave" s'appliquait à toutes les quatre formes principales du verbe ? Or, c'est là justement le but du présent essai, de montrer qu'en réalité l'usage du réflexif avec "nounge" portait autrefois sur une aire morphologique plus étendue que nous n'avons pensé, notamment aussi sur *l'Intensif* et sur le *Causatif*. Cette assertion peut se confirmer par plusieurs restes conservés dans la Bible.

En effet, examinons attentivement la liste des exemples suivants :

A.—1. ארומם (Is. 33, 10); 2. השומם<sup>(4)</sup> (Eccl. 7, 16); 3. חכנני (Is. 55, 14); 4. חכנן (Nomb. 21, 27); 5. יכננו (Ps. 59, 5).

B.—1. הנשא (Nomb. 24, 7); 2. וינשא<sup>(4)</sup> (II. Chr. 32, 23); 3. ינשא (Dan. 11, 14);<sup>(5)</sup> 4. הכסה<sup>(5)</sup> (Prov. 26, 26); 5. נכפר (Deut. 21, 8); 6. נוסרו (Ezéch. 23, 48) 7. הכבם (Lév. 13, 55-6).

Les deux exemples נכפר, נוסרו ont d'abord attiré l'attention de nos anciens<sup>(6)</sup> grammairiens qui décidèrent de les rattacher à une forme verbale composée "nitpa'el," résultée d'une superposition du "nif'al" au "hitpa'el" dont le "tave" se serait assimilé à la radicale: donc נכפר=נִכְפַּר, נוסרו=נוֹסְרוּ. De la même façon on continua à expliquer les autres exemples précités comme "hitpa'el avec assimilation du "tave": donc תְּכַנֵּן-הַכֶּנֶן, תִּנְשֵׂא etc. L'erreur se propageant ainsi de génération en génération acquit droit de cité, et l'on finit par la consacrer en une loi grammaticale attribuant

1 En éthiopien cette forme ne s'est conservée que dans les verbes quadrilittères.

2 Brockelm : Semit. Sprachwiss., p. 121—122.

3 Brockelm : Vergleich. Gramm. d. sem. Spr., p. 253.

4 Autre version ינשא

5 Certains corrigent : מכסה (Vulg. : Qui operit.)

6 Voy., par ex., Profiat Douvan Hallévi : מְעַשְׂהָאֵף, p. 122-3, Vienne 5625.

au "tave du hitpa'el" la faculté de s'assimiler<sup>(1)</sup> à la 1ère radicale כ ou נ (d'après תשיבס et תשיבס, on devrait ajouter aussi ו ט י). C'est cette règle qui empêcha jusqu'à présent de reconnaître le vrai caractère des formes grammaticales ci-dessus mentionnées dans les listes A et B.

Or, en réalité, cette prétendue règle ne peut se baser sur rien. Il n'y a que le "noune" qui a cette faculté caractéristique de s'assimiler très fréquemment, toujours dans le "nif'al," et dans les noms même à des occasions assez bien déterminées. Quant au "tave," nous ne lui connaissons guère ce caractère de s'assimiler que dans le Réflexif, et ceci seulement devant une 1ère rad. ת ou son emphatique ט, ce qui est bien naturel; peut-être aussi devant une 1ère rad. ד, autre dentale si parente du ת, mais ce point n'exclurait pas la discussion.<sup>(2)</sup> En tous cas, on ne saurait attribuer au "tave" cette faculté ailleurs que devant les trois dentales. La meilleure preuve à l'appui de cette thèse, c'est que presque tous les exemples ci-dessus cités ont dans la Bible leur "hitpa'el" complet avec "tave," non-assimilé : יתרום (Dan. 11, 36); יתרום (Is. 59, 16; Ps. 143, 3); יתרום (Is. 63, 5; Dan. 8, 27); יתרום (Prov. 24, 3); יתרום (Num. 23, 24); יתרום (Ezéch. 26, 15); יתרום (Num. 16, 3); יתרום (I. Chr. 29, 11; I. Reg. 1, 5); יתרום (Ez. 17, 14; Prov. 30, 32); יתרום (II. Reg. 19, 1; Is. 37, 1); יתרום (Gen. 24, 65); יתרום (Is. 59, 6; Jon. 3, 8); יתרום (I. Sam. 3, 14).

Il est bien difficile d'admettre que les mêmes verbes auraient eu leur "hitpa'el" tantôt avec "tave", tantôt sans "tave", fluctuation trop invraisemblable. Il serait beaucoup plus logique d'admettre que dans les exemples sans "tave," ce n'est point avec un "tave" assimilé que nous avons affaire, mais avec un "noune" assimilé, comme d'ordinaire. Comme exemple spécialement bien fait pour corroborer notre assertion, on pourrait citer תשיבס : d'après la loi bien connue, en présence d'une 1ère rad. *sifflante* le "tave" du "hitpa'el" subit toujours la *mélathèse*; si ce n'est pas le cas ici, c'est que nous ne sommes point en présence d'un<sup>(3)</sup> "hitpa'el."

Très important aussi, sous ce rapport, l'exemple תשיבס où il n'y a même pas d'assimilation, mais élargissement de la voyelle de la particule pronominale, phénomène constant chez le "nif'al" devant

1 Ges.-Kautsch : Hebr. Gramm., p. 148, éd. 27.

2 Car, d'une part, nous avons un exemple très sûr תשיבס (Jug. 19, 22) sans assimilation; d'autre part, des formes comme תשיבס (משיבס?) (Job. 34, 25), sont douteuses. Restent תשיבס (Is. 14, 44); יתרום (Job. 5, 1.)

3 C'est pourquoi nous ne pouvons nous ranger de l'avis de Gesenius (Dictionn.), ou de Strack (Gramm., p. 75) qui considèrent תשיבס (Is. 1, 16) comme "hitpa'el" de תשיבס. A notre sens, ce serait le "nif'al" de תשיבס. Si l'on tient à la racine תשיבס, il faudra reconnaître ici également un "nif'al intensif" (voy. plus loin): תשיבס serait = תשיבס (הנ) תשיבס.

une 1<sup>ère</sup> rad. non-apte à recevoir le "dagesh." Ici l'idée du "hitpa'el" ne vient même pas à la tête de l'observateur sans principe grammatical préconçu; tant nous sommes habitués à rencontrer le réflexif des verbes avec 1<sup>ère</sup> sans que le "tave" tombe : מְרַוֵּשׁ, מְרַפֵּק, יוֹרֵצָה, יוֹרֵצָה, חֲרָפָה (Prov. 22, 23) etc. etc., pour ne citer que quelques exemples bibliques.

Enfin, ce sont les exemples נוֹסְרִינְכֶּכֶר qui pourront nous révéler avec plus de certitude encore le vrai caractère morphologique de tous ces verbes ci-dessus mentionnés dans la liste. En écartant comme inexacte l'hypothèse d'un "tave" assimilé ou tombé et en nous rappelant que le "nitpa'el" est une forme très postérieure qui se développa au temps de la Mishna, — nous reconnaitrons clairement, au "nounge" de ces deux verbes, la forme "nif'al" et, à la vocalisation de la racine, notamment au "dagesh" de la 2<sup>e</sup> rad., la forme *intensive* (Pi'el). Nous sommes donc en présence d'une forme verbale inconnue : c'est le "nif'al" dérivé du "piel," ou, morphologiquement parlant, le *réflexif-intensif* avec "nounge." Cette forme est morphologiquement parallèle à notre "hitpa'el" habituel qui, lui, n'est que le *réflexif-intensif* avec "tave."

Tous les autres exemples ci-dessus mentionnés, tous à l'imparfait avec "dagesh fort" dans les 1<sup>ère</sup> et 2<sup>e</sup> rad., s'expliquent également de la façon la plus naturelle comme "nif'al" intensif : le premier dagesh complète le "nounge" réflexif, tombant à l'imparfait *sans exception*; le second indique le "pi'el," — et point n'est besoin d'inventer un "tave" s'assimilant *exceptionnellement*.

Toutefois, il nous reste encore à aplanir une apparente difficulté concernant la vocalisation des deux verbes נוֹסְרִינְכֶּכֶר : le "nounge" étant présent, vu le parfait, et aucune autre lettre n'étant tombée, que vient faire le "dagesh" dans la 1<sup>ère</sup> rad. ?

Eh bien ! nous avons affaire ici avec une vocalisation ou ponctuation "par analogie". Souvent la langue abandonne une forme spéciale à une espèce grammaticale plus ou moins restreinte, pour se régler sur un modèle plus général. L'on sait, par ex., que le "nounge" du "nif'al" parfait, 3<sup>e</sup> p., devant une 1<sup>ère</sup> rad. vocalisée avec accent, comme dans les verbes *creux* et *geminés*, est ponctué  $T=a$  (vocalisation *originelle*) : נִסְרָה, נִסְרָה. Pourtant, déjà dans la Bible nous trouvons des formes comme נִסְרָה, נִסְרָה ; quant à l'époque post-biblique, le "nounge" du nif'al dans ces sortes de verbes est toujours vocalisé avec un "i" : נִסְרָה, נִסְרָה au lieu de נִסְרָה, נִסְרָה. C'est que la langue a imité ici le "nif'al" de la grande majorité des autres verbes, dont la marque caractéristique au parfait est "ni" (niqṭal, nifqad). Or, un phénomène analogique tout pareil aurais affecté aussi les verbes נוֹסְרִינְכֶּכֶר : le *nounge* aurait dû recevoir ici un "sheva mobile", comme cela se passe toujours immédiatement avant une syllabe non-accentuée (נִסְרָה, נִסְרָה) ; mais, sous l'influence du "nif'al" ordinaire, lui aussi a été vocalisé "ni." Donc, au lieu de נוֹסְרִינְכֶּכֶר, nous avons obtenu נוֹסְרִינְכֶּכֶר. Mais ce



"i" par lui-même, comme voyelle brève non fermée par un "sheva quiescent," a forcément entraîné le redoublement de la consonne suivante, c.à.d. le "dagesh fort" dans la 1<sup>ère</sup> rad., comme dans נמול etc, et nous avons obtenu נסיר-נכפר-נסיר-נכפר. Donc נסיר-נכפר-נסיר-נכפר. Et c'est ainsi que le *réflexif-intensif* avec "noune" reçut la forme définitive de "nippa'el" ou "niqqattel" (נקטל)

Ce phénomène d'apparition fortuite d'un "dagesh" rien que pour raison phonétique, sans remplacer une lettre ni accentuer une nuance grammaticale, — ce phénomène n'est point isolé. Il se produisit également pour toute une série de restes bibliques de l'ancien passif du "qal," correspondant au *فعل* arabe, sans redoublement de la 2<sup>ème</sup> rad. Or, en hébreu, rien que pour cause phonétique (ou bref du passif), ce redoublement se produisit et il en résulta la forme identique en tout au passif du "pi'el." Cet ancien passif ("pou'al du qal") est encore représenté dans la Bible par des exemples assez nombreux: לקח, שרף, זכה, ילד, עבר etc.

Quant au verbe <sup>(1)</sup> הכנס il ne serait donc pas un "hotpa'el" ou hitpa'e passif (הִתְנַסַּף) d'après Gesenius et autres, mais bien un *nippa'el passif*: הכנס-הכנס (ה) et non pas הכנס.

De même que l'arabe a conservé le passif du réfl. simple avec "noune" (اِنْفَعَلَ), l'hébreu l'a conservé de ce réfl. *intensif*. L'hébreu donc, comme l'arabe, avait une forme passive pour les deux réfl. avec "tave" et avec "noune."

Nous avons rangé nos douze exemples archaïques ci-dessus en deux groupes, A et B. Le groupe B comprend des verbes prouvant l'existence du réfl. avec "noune" formé de l'intensif ou pi'el ordinaire. Mais le groupe A ne contient que des exemples d'une ancienne forme (III<sup>e</sup> arabe), le "Po'el", caractérisée par un ô après la 1<sup>ère</sup> rad. à tous les temps et remplaçant le pi'el dans les verbes creux et géminés. Cette forme, appelée par les linguistes Conatif ou forme d'influence et conservée même en arabe vulgaire (فَاعَلَ), est morte chez nous complètement dans la conjugaison du verbe régulier ou sain, ne laissant que des restes isolés dans la Bible, comme <sup>(2)</sup> משופטי (Job 9, 15),

1) Voy. Lévi. 13, 55-6 : "אחרי הכנס את רגנע... אחרי הכנס אתו" Ce verbe n'est point au parfait (Gesenius), mais à l'infin du passif-impersonnel avec complém. direct, comme dans ces propositions : "ביום היטל את יצהק" (Gen. 21. 8), ou bien "יום הלדת את פריעה" (Gen. 40, 20).

2) D'après Wellhausen, il faut lire dans Yoph. 3, 15 également משופטי au lieu de משפטי.

מלושני (Ps. 21, 5), יסער = יסער (Os. 13, 3), ששתי = שוסיתי (Is. 10, 13), יורעתי<sup>(1)</sup> (1 Sam 21, 3).

Comme résultat de tout ce qui précède, nous pouvons donc conclure que le réflexif avec "noune" s'appliquait autrefois non seulement à la forme simple, comme "nif'al," mais aussi à l'*Intensif* et au *Conatif*. A l'*Intensif*, il reçut la forme *nippa'el*; au *Conatif* il devait donc avoir (au parfait) la forme "*nippa'el*."

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(1) Inutile de corriger avec Gesenius (Dict) נוערתי ou הוערתי. Le texte est exact et s'explique parfaitement par la racine correspondante en arabe دَعَ, signifiant: laisser en partant ceux qui restent, quitter, faire des adieux (وَدَعَ) (Voy. Dict. Wahrnund p. 1170).





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## CORRIGENDA

Page	6, line	25,	read	פתג האמה	instead of	פתג האמה
"	13,	" 7	from below	" עו,	Hebrew,	not Coptic
"	23,	" 2	"	"	Pilter	
"	27,	" 7	"	"	während	
"	33,	" 20	"	"	archaïque	
"	"	" 25	"	"	contributions	
"	"	" 10	from below	"	לפני כל מן	
"	34,	" 8	"	"	inscription	
"	"	" 10	"	"	déformation	
"	"	" 15	"	"	générations	
"	"	" 3	from below	"	déplacement	
"	44,	" 9	"	"	occasions	
"	"	" 19	"	"	יתבונן	
"	45,	" 4,	before "sans",	read	r.	
"	"	" 37,	after "comme",	read	nimmôl, nimmôlu.	
"	"	" 39,	after i	read	nizzôn niddôn nillôsh, au lieu de nazôn nadôn nalôsh.	
"	"	last line	read "au lieu de	n'kapper—n'wass'ru	nous avons obtenu	nikapper—niwass'ru."
"	46,	line 4,	read "donc	n'kapper n'wass'ru-nikapper—niwass'ru-nikkapper—niwass'ru."		
"	"	" 6	from below	read	הבנים	twice.
"	"	" 2	"	"	Soph.	
"	47	" 1	"	"	שומתי-שושתי	



## A REVISION OF EARLY HEBREW CHRONOLOGY

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FOR centuries the field of early Hebrew chronology has been the hunting ground of the scholarly ecclesiastic and of the dilettante. Even the extraordinary progress made in our knowledge of the ancient East during the past century has, to a superficial glance, left it almost untouched. It is true that the once standard systems of Ussher—1921 B. C. for the Call of Abram, 1491 for the Exodus, and 1296 for the Song of Deborah—and Hale—2088 for the Call of Abram and 1658 for the Exodus—have been discarded, but the many divergent schemes which conservative scholars propose, ranging from 2250 to 1950 for Abram's migration to the west, and from 1350 to 1200 for the Exodus, are still more repugnant to the Biblical tradition than the former were to our present knowledge of ancient history. Some of these schemes allow an entire millennium to elapse between Abram and Moses. Critical scholars usually show a commendable caution by avoiding these tangled problems, the easier for them since many have doubted whether there were any measure whatsoever of historicity in the pre-Mosaic traditions of Israel. As long as the alternative seemed to lie between the contemporaneity of Abram with Hammurabi and rejection of his historicity along with that of Genesis XIV, no serious student could be blamed for grasping the second horn of the dilemma, especially since a number of circumstances seemed to tell decidedly against the conservative position.

The archaeological investigations pursued in Egypt, Mesopotamia and Palestine began about 1870 to cast direct light upon the early records of the Hexateuch. With the discoveries in Anatolia and Arabia, especially the Peninsula of Sinai, the illumining of Israel's horizon is complete. Yet even Tell-el-Amarna and Boghaz-keui have raised more problems than they could solve, and the excavations in



Palestine, from which so much was hoped in this direction, have hitherto only complicated the matter by introducing new, chronologically elusive factors, while at the same time apparently supporting the evidence from other sources against the traditional Biblical date for the Exodus, 480 years before the construction of the temple.

Nor has the critical study of the Old Testament, valuable though its results have been, materially improved our position. The results of documentary analysis were placed on a secure basis by Wellhausen's work forty years ago, and have since become more and more firmly established, positively by the latest archaeological discoveries, and negatively by the failure of the unmethodical super-criticism of Eerdmans, Dahse, Wiener, and a scattered group of followers. These men, with the exception of Eerdmans, profess to be orthodox in their views, but their textual somersaults and subjective distortions of the Biblical narrative bewilder by their freedom as well as by their lack of method. It is to be feared that the good old conservative of the Victorian era, who had at least a sound classical training, would be much more at home in the works of Driver and Skinner than in the writings of Naville, whose archaeological artillery does more damage to the batteries of his allies than to those of his antagonists. However, useful as the analysis of the Hexateuch is for the proper appreciation of the relative historical value of our documents, it seldom has a direct bearing upon the fundamental historical and chronological problems. The most important case is the reconstruction of J's version of Judah's conquest of the south.

The combination of historical and critical methods in Eduard Meyer's great work, *Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme* (1905), following the lines mapped out by his epoch-making paper, "Kritik der Berichte über die Eroberung Palaestinas" (ZATW<sup>1</sup> 1881,

<sup>1</sup> Note the following abbreviations: AAA = *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*; AE = Max Müller, *Asien und Europa nach den altägyptischen Denkmälern*; AJSL = *American Journal of Semitic Languages*; AR = Breasted, *Ancient Records*; CT = *Cuneiform Texts from the British Museum*; EA = Knudtzon-Weber-Ebeling, *Die El-Amarna-Tafeln*; JAOS = *Journal of the American Oriental Society*; JBL = *Journal of Biblical Literature*; JEA = *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*; MVAG = *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*; OLZ = *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*; RA = *Revue d'Assyriologie*; ZATW = *Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*; ZDMG = *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*.

117—146), while estimating the relative historical value of our sources more accurately than anyone else had succeeded in doing, brought few positive results. There was still no link between sacred and profane history, and since the oldest Biblical narratives were so intermingled with romantic and obviously legendary material Meyer, as a careful historian, felt obliged to deny their historicity almost entirely. But are we justified in rejecting traditions completely because of legendary coloring, or in denying historical worth to documents because they incorporate mythical episodes? The study of the process of myth-making in the ancient Orient by Winckler and his school has shown that oral tradition inevitably implies the accretion of folkloristic elements, as illustrated by the early historical reminiscences of every Levantine people, and by the myths which gathered around every notable monarch or sage, from Sargon of Akkad and Imhotep to Ahiqar and Alexander. Clearly, if we could remove the folkloristic shell, we would find important nuclei of truth in these traditions, which the popular tradition often preserved with the most remarkable tenacity. This necessary demarcation between history and saga is being made possible by more systematic collections of folkloristic materials from the ancient Orient. We now find that these stories repeat certain stereotyped motives, common to all southwestern Asia and the adjoining portions of the Mediterranean basin. Many stories turn up, with slight variations, in nearly every ancient literature and mythology. Owing to association with cosmogony or with heroic saga they were frequently incorporated by the scribe into his collections of the historical traditions of his people from the dim period lying between the Creation and the beginning of the official annals. Typical examples of stories of this class in the Old Testament are the legends of the antediluvian patriarchs, the Flood, Babel, the postdiluvian patriarchs, Jacob and Esau, Joseph,<sup>1</sup> and Samson.<sup>2</sup> The advancement of the folkloristic study of

<sup>1</sup> For the origin and character of the Joseph Story, which is found with slight variations in all the eastern Mediterranean basin and southwestern Asia, see my article, "Historical and Mythical Elements in the Story of Joseph," *JBL* 37 (1918), 111—143. Since this article was written I have found much additional evidence, and a number of new parallels, of no less intimate character.

<sup>2</sup> The best treatment of the Samson Story is by Burney *Judges*, pp. 391—408. While Samson reflects an actual historical hero, his adventures have clearly been adapted to the Heracles pattern, and in many respects closely resemble the

the Old Testament may be referred almost entirely to Gunkel<sup>1</sup> and his pupils, especially Hans Schmidt<sup>2</sup> and Gressmann.<sup>3</sup> Recently the great name of Sir James Frazer has been added to the still short list of workers in the field.

The recognition of these folkloristic elements in our material, and the consequent sifting of our historical data, obviously has a great effect in stabilizing our conceptions of early Hebrew history. The scribes were not logopoeists, or compilers of invented facts; they conscientiously passed on the documents, oral and written, which came to their hand. Their undeveloped ideas of intellectual honesty were aided by an exaggerated notion of the sacredness of the material which they gathered and copied, and the fear of violating some tabu by inaccuracy. Being human they made mistakes and erroneous combinations,<sup>4</sup> but we may safely credit them with a point of view

exploits of Gilgames, as well as those of Heracles. In spite of his name, which means literally "solar" he is not directly solar, though certain of his adventures, as well as his association with Beth Shemesh, the city of the sun, point in that direction. His mythical side connects him rather with the genii of fecundity, like the Babylonian Lugalnarda, who appears in the Bible as Nimrod, and Sumuqan, both of whom are considered as the offspring of the sungod by a mortal woman (see JAOS 40, 307—335). Jud. XIII: 6, 9 shows transparently that Samson was thought to be the child of an angel (*i. e.* originally of a god) by a mortal woman, like the primordial heroes of Gen. VI. His name may point to the pre-Mosaic conception that he was the son of Šamš, the sun. The name of the historical Samson is unknown, nor can there be a connection with Shammah of II Sam. XXIII: 11, or with Shamgar, both of whom slew Philistines *en masse*; the *tertium comparationis*, which brought about the fusion of the historical Samson with the mythical, may be the fact that the former was nicknamed Šamsôn (whence Šimsôn, by Philippi's Law). The schematic form of the legend is characterized by the fact that the Samson pericope assigns exactly seven adventures to the hero.

<sup>1</sup> Note especially his books, *Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit; Genesis; Das Märchen im Alten Testament*, Tübingen, 1917.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. his *Jona*, and for his methods especially his *Volkserzählungen aus Palästina*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Gressmann's *Ursprung der israelitisch-jüdischen Eschatologie und Mose und seine Zeit*, Göttingen, 1913.

<sup>4</sup> The most serious errors are due to learned combinations and assumptions from imperfect knowledge, still the most prolific source of mistakes on the part of scholars. A very characteristic blunder is the combination which gave us the Hamite theory of Babylonian origins. The compiler of Gen. X identified the Kaššu who ruled Babylonia from 1742 to 1166, and the Dynasty of Kîš (Burkitt, *Journal of Theological Studies*, Vol. 21, pp. 236 ff.) which begins the list of post-diluvian kingdoms in the official Babylonian chronology, with the Nubian Ek'âš,

similar to that exhibited by Egyptian and Mesopotamian scribes, whose praiseworthy respect for accuracy we are coming more and more to esteem. Naturally the possibility of error in those days of manuscript and teaching by rote was much greater than it is today.

Until very recently the work of Biblical scholars has been handicapped by the fact that, although there was apparently an abundance of historical material in the cuneiform and the hieroglyphic inscriptions, the doctors disagreed to such an extent that it often seemed to the more timorous or more remote as if there were no security at all in this vast and treacherous edifice. Now the differences are lessening to such an extent that there is hardly ever any room for serious disagreement in the reading of royal or place names, and even the vexed subject of ancient chronology is nearing a final settlement.<sup>1</sup> The dates given by Breasted for the kings of the Eighteenth Dynasty are for the most part astronomically fixed, and those for the Nineteenth are confirmed by an indirect synchronism

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later *Ekôš*, Amarna *Kâšî*, and Heb. *Kâš*. Accordingly, the Babylonian hero, Nimrod, becomes an Ethiopian, and with Eduard Meyer a Libyan, because one of the Libyan ancestors of Shishak was called *Nmrt*.

<sup>1</sup> Practically all Egyptologists accept the clear astronomical evidence of the Sothis dates for the Twelfth and Eighteenth Dynasties; the divergent views of a few belonging to the older school, such as Petrie and Lieblein, are not to be taken seriously, since the astronomical evidence is now confirmed by an increasing mass of collateral material. Back to B. C. 2000 Egyptian chronology is exact almost for every decade; the difference of about ten years between the dates given by Meyer and Breasted for the Nineteenth Dynasty is being settled in favor of the latter; see the following note. Babylonian chronology is established with the same margin of error back to about 2500 B. C., thanks to the brilliant discovery of Pater Kugler of a list of the relations between the changes of Venus and the moon, accurately dated in the reign of 'Ammi-çadûqa (1978—1957). Weidner's attempt to reduce this date by 168 years because of his new Assyrian lists of kings and a new astronomical combination is certainly wrong from the chronological side, where he has made a great many serious errors, as I shall prove elsewhere; his astronomical theory has not been published yet, but is evidently wrong, as his almost invariably are where they differ from Kugler's. The latter has the enviable merit of being at once a competent astronomer and an Assyriologist of no mean ability. The chronology of the third millennium has no astronomical support, but may be fixed back to the thirtieth century, thanks to a careful examination of the material in the light of my synchronism between Menes and Narâm-Šin; see JEA 6, 89—98, and 7, 80—86. Since the second article was written, new material has accumulated.



with Babylonia through the Hittite monarchs.<sup>1</sup> We may, therefore, make a new effort to solve the principal questions of early Hebrew chronology, and, in the main, I venture to say, a definitive one. We propose to fix approximately the dates of the Song of Deborah, the Entrance into Canaan, the Exodus, and the period of Abram.

The Song of Deborah is generally recognized as the oldest monument of Hebrew literature, a literary conception of unusual merit, though a torso, and an historical document of prime importance. A thorough study of it, prolonged through years, has convinced me that its textual state is excellent.<sup>2</sup> While the LXX differs radically from MT in many of the later books, here there is hardly a disagreement. Moreover, the number of glosses, though respectable, seems to be much smaller than often suspected and to have very little bearing on the historical content of the poem. In a careful study of ancient Oriental metres, I have been struck with the similarity of form and metre between the Song of Deborah and some Egyptian poems from the Middle Egyptian period as well as the two splendid Old Babylonian hymns to the goddesses Agūšaya and Bēlītīlī (time of Hammurabi). When read consecutively and freed from a few obvious and for the most part generally admitted glosses, the Song of Deborah appears as a very regular and rather elaborate metrical composition, belonging with these categories of pure Semitic verse.<sup>3</sup> The later

<sup>1</sup> The Hittite monarch Hattusilis II. writes to the regents for the young son of the Kosean Kadašman-Turgu, who must be Kadašman-Elil II., mentioning the new treaty with Egypt. The treaty was signed, as we know from Egyptian sources, in the twenty-first year of Rameses II., or B. C. 1271; according to my chronology, based on entirely independent considerations, Kadašman-Elil ascended the throne in 1272, a figure agreeing to the year.

<sup>2</sup> A number of *hapax legomena*, previously unexplained, and consequently emended by most scholars, have yielded to a methodical exegesis, assisted by the resources of comparative philology, as I shall show elsewhere. By far the most thorough and stimulating treatment of the Song of Deborah is that given by Haupt, in the Wellhausen *Festschrift*, pp. 191—226. After his penetrating analysis there is not much to be done, even though one may differ radically in the restoration of the metrical form. To Burney we owe the important discovery of the scheme of "climactic parallelism," though his philological study is highly unsatisfactory, and he is too ready to emend.

<sup>3</sup> I hope to treat the relation between Egyptian and Akkadian poetry of the classical period, on the one hand, and early Hebrew verse on the other, in a special study. The principle of repetition of balanced clauses, called climactic parallelism by Burney, is found, though in a slightly more artificial form, in the beautiful Egyptian poem, "The Dialogue between the Soul and the Body."

Hebrew verse-forms are different, and resemble late Assyro-Babylonian poetry more, though superior to the latter in metrical form, since in translation from Sumerian the requirements of prosody were naturally sacrificed to the demands of literalness. Some of the Hebrew verse from the intervening age, such as the Lament of David over Jonathan, presents intermediate forms of great interest. As a result of the metrical analysis we may have full confidence in the accuracy of the text of the Song of Deborah, and pass without apprehension to its historical exploitation.

Jud. V: 6 the poet relates that before the rise of Deborah the country was oppressed by Shamgar of Beth-Anath,<sup>1</sup> a fortified town in northern Galilee,<sup>2</sup> mentioned in the Egyptian lists of Palestinian cities,<sup>3</sup> and the Books of Joshua and Judges, where it appears (Jud. I: 33) along with Beth-Shemesh<sup>4</sup> as a Canaanite fortress which

<sup>1</sup> Shamgar ben-Anath does not mean "Shamgar son of Anath," but "Shamgar of the place called Beth-Anath." Anath was a goddess, and though one might suppose that the hero Shamgar was regarded as son of the goddess of war and love, like Gilgames and Aeneas, by a mortal father, it is better to assume that we have here a wide-spread Assyrian and Aramaic idiom (cf. Ungnad, *OLZ* 9, 224—226), according to which a member of a tribe was son of the eponymous ancestor of the tribe, often naturally his real ancestor, while the tribe itself was called "house," i. e. "family" (cf. *ôhl*, "tent" = *ahl*, "family" = *âlu*, "town") of the eponymous parent. Thus in Assyrian *mâr*, in an Aramean name especially, is equivalent to *ša bît*: *Ba'sa mâr Ruḥûbi* king of Ammon is Baasha of Beth-Rehob, just as Hadadezer ben-Rehob is Hadadezer of Beth-Rehob; *Ya'ua mâr Ḥumrî* is Jehu of Beth-Omri, i. e. of Samaria, built by Omri; in many other cases the inscriptions themselves alternate in their usage, as with *Aramê mâr Gûsi* = *Aramê ša bît-Gûsi*, who is called Bar Gôš in the Zakir Stele.

<sup>2</sup> That Beth-Anath was in northern Galilee is clear from the fact that it lay in Naphtali, on the Israelite border, but the identification with modern 'Ainîtha a small village west-northwest of Lake Ḥûle by some fifteen kilometres in a straight line is impossible. The name is found elsewhere in Syria, probably representing an Aram. 'Ainâthâ, "springs," and only remotely resembling Beth-Anath.

<sup>3</sup> Beth-Anath is found as Bait-'Anat in the Egyptian lists of towns conquered in Palestine from the time of Thutmosis III. to that of Shishak. In a list of Rameses II. (Müller, *Egyptological Researches*, Vol. II, p. 96) we have in succession Yeno'am, *Qmhm*, Ullazi (*Yn-r-f*), Tyre, Ūsô (*Yw-tw*), Beth-Anath. In view of this order, it may not be too venturesome to suggest Tell-Belât, an important mound about fifteen km. southwest of 'Ainîtha, and twenty-five south-east of Tyre, by the air line.

<sup>4</sup> The identification of Beth-Shemesh of Naphtali with Ḥirbet Šemsîn, southwest of the Sea of Galilee, is exceedingly improbable; the town was doubtless in northern Galilee, but I have no identification to offer.

the tribe of Naphtali was unable to reduce. As seen long ago, Shamgar is not a Semitic name, but Hittite,<sup>1</sup> thus belonging to the same race which we find occupying the towns of Galilee in the Amarna period. Jud. III: 31, Shamgar is said to have slain six hundred Philistines with an ox-goad. The latter circumstance is folkloristic, and belongs in the same cycle of tales as those which grew up around the legendary figure of Samson, in the Judaeen district of Beth-Shemesh, but the tradition that Shamgar defeated the Philistines is certainly correct, with the more clearness that Shamgar is not an Israelite hero, but a Canaanite one, and therefore we may expect his achievement to be minimized rather than exalted. His incorporation in the list of Israelite heroes evidently came late, as may be inferred from the fact that he has no saga attached to his name; the fact that the reference to him is inserted just before the prose account of the struggle with Sisera shows that he owes his inclusion to a misunderstanding of the allusion to him in the Song of Deborah. Despite his oppression, however, the Hebrews kept a friendly recollection of the Canaanite champion who had helped ward off the terrible barbarian irruption.

We now discover what may appear at first sight a remarkable anomaly: if the Philistines were already known in Palestine in the time of Shamgar, how does it happen that they appear nowhere in the Song of Deborah, but that the tribe of Dan, later driven out of the Lowlands by the pressure of the Philistines, still occupies the sea-coast, without a hint of apprehension:

Why does Dan abide in ships?

From the inscriptions of Rameses III. (1198—1167) it is certain that the first great invasion of Syria and the Delta by the "Sea-peoples" took place in the eighth year (1190) and was successfully repulsed. Since nothing more is heard of the Sea-peoples during the active life of the Pharaoh, it is evident that they were unable to break the vigorous resistance of the great king's arm, so the career of Shamgar must fall soon after 1190, and the Song of Deborah toward the end of the reign of Rameses III., about 1175. The successful Philistine

<sup>1</sup> About the middle of the ninth century the Assyrian inscriptions mention Sangara, king of Carchemish; since the Assyrians always wrote a final vowel, whether they pronounced it or not, and pronounced *s* as *š* and conversely, while *n* and *m* were not distinguished before *g* and *q*, we must pronounce *Šan(m)gar*.

irruption may have taken place immediately after the Pharaoh's death, or shortly before, when harem intrigues were sapping the strength of the empire, and the king was apparently in his dotage. A detailed examination of the history of the Philistine irruption will make the sequence of events easier to understand.

The first reference to the northern inroads is found in Rameses's account of the Libyan campaign of the fifth year,<sup>1</sup> which mentions the incursions of Philistine<sup>2</sup> and Sicilian<sup>3</sup> barks. The movement

<sup>1</sup> AR IV, 24.

<sup>2</sup> The Philistines are now generally, following Amos, derived from Caphtor, which may be Crete, but may also, like the Eg. *Kftyw*, be a general term for the Egean region. The Egyptian word is not really a proper name, but is an adjectival formation, like *hftyw*, "enemies," *yentyw*, "foes" (erroneously, as I shall show elsewhere, "Troglodytes"), *štyw*, "archers," *mntyw*, etc., and means properly "opponents." It is, however, more than likely that it is a kind of popular etymology, explaining the foreign word *Kaptâr* or *Kaftâr*. Wainwright's arguments in his monograph, "The Keftiu-People of the Egyptian Monuments" (AAA 6, 24-83, 1913) against the identification of the land of the *Kftyw* with Crete are convincing; the term had a wider connotation, and his location of it in eastern Cilicia is nebulous. Dilettantes have long thought of combining the Philistines with the Pelasgians; while long opposed, I have now adopted this theory, for the following reasons. It is improbable that so important a people as the Philistines should leave no trace behind in the Egean region. The home of the Pelasgians seems to have been Thessaly and Epirus, where the district of Pelasgiotis and Pelasgian Dodona (II. II, 233) commemorated their former presence. The Odyssey mentions Pelasgians in Crete, and the earliest historians, Hecataeus and Herodotus, find traces of them all over Hellenic lands, which they were believed to have occupied before the Hellenic immigration. Despite Eduard Meyer's caveat (GA I, 23, 767 ff.), these traditions must be essentially correct. The name *Pelešet*, *Pelištî* goes back unquestionably to an original *Pelašt*, reflected in Assy. *Palastu*, *Pilistu*, both of which reproduce a *Pelüšt*. Now the names of the Sea-peoples nearly all have the gentile termination *sh*, sometimes omitted. Thus we have *Kškš* while the Assyrians have *Kški* (written *Kaski*), and the Boghaz-keui texts have *Qaşqaš*, *Qaşga*, *Gaşga*, Greek Kiskisos in Cataonia; *Turša*, Heb. *Tarshish*, the Tyrsenians or Etruscans; *Krkš* (cf. Kirkesion, Gergesa, Gîrgashites); *Wšš*, *Aqawiš* (not the Achaeans), etc. Affixing this gentile ending, we have *Pelaštiš* or *Pelaštš*. Final *tš* and *dž* after a consonant can hardly be distinguished, so the Greeks, to whom a *štš* was incompatible, pronounced *Pelasg-oi*, just as the Italians rendered the Punic *Qarṭhadšoh*, "New-town," by *Carthago*. The Italians made a similar change in getting an *Etrusc*, *Tusc* from *Turšiš*, where *š-š* has become *sc*. In the same way *Wšš* has become *Fāṭos* (Hall), for \**Wask-os*.

<sup>3</sup> The Eg. *T'-k'-r'*, or *T'-k-k'-r'*, conventionally read Zakar, certainly refers to the Sicilians, or Sikel, Gr. Sikeloî, Lat. Siculi. The identification with the Teucrians or Trojans, frequently proposed, is phonetically impossible. On the other hand, the Teucrian Gergithes, who appear in Troas, Mysia, Miletus, Cyprus, etc. (cf. Meyer, GA<sup>3</sup> 739), are perhaps the same as the *Krkš* and Gîrgashites



began earlier; it is probable that the Mashwash, who appear as the leaders of the Libyan invasion in the reign of Meyneptah (cir. 1220) represent an earlier stage of the northern migrations, as the *sh*-ending denotes the gentile suffix in many of the names of the Sea-peoples.<sup>1</sup> Shortly before the year 1190 the northern hordes, driven from their homes by the Indo-European inundation which brought the Achaeans into the Poloponnesus<sup>2</sup> and the Phrygians into Asia Minor, swept in a great wave over the ruin of the Hittite Empire into Armenia and Syria. The Muski (Assyr. writing *Muški*) or Moschians and their allies, the Tabal and the Kashkash (Assyr.

(see preceding note). It should be observed in this connection that in most of the Anatolian languages there was no clear distinction between the voiced and voiceless stops, so *k* and *g* are here practically interchangeable. Moreover, since the Greeks possessed no *sh*, they might reproduce it by a *θ*, especially before the nominative ending *ς*. In syllabic orthography *f* regularly was pronounced *si* (Ϻ) as in *T'-rw* = Roman Sile, and *T'-r'-y-n* = Heb. מִן־רֶמֶס, "coat of mail", so *T'-k'-r'* may be read *Siker* or *Sikel*. In this case, the Sicilians of Dor were an Italian people, since there can be no question that the Sicilians were Indo-Europeans, speaking an Italic language, inscriptions in which have been recovered. Thucydides says that there were Sicilians still in Italy in his day, a statement corroborated by later Roman historians, and that they crossed into Sicily three hundred years before the arrival of the first Greek colonists (ἐρη ἐγγυς τριακόσια πρὶν Ἑλλήνας εἰς Σικελίαν ἐλθεῖν, Thuc. VI : 2). As the traditional date for the latter event was about 735 B. C. this would mean that the Oscan migration which was responsible for the movement of the Sicilians, according to Thucydides, took place in the eleventh century. However, these dates are evidently only approximate, and we may safely place the Sicilian migration about 1200, when the first appearance of the Sicilians on the Egyptian coast seems to have occurred. All the Mediterranean peoples were so accustomed to sea-faring that wholesale migrations seem to have been carried out as readily by the sea route as by the land. It is very interesting to establish the presence of an Italian people in Palestine as early as the twelfth century B. C.

<sup>1</sup> See note 18. Northern Africa was certainly in this period colonized by peoples from the northern coasts of the Mediterranean. Meyneptah states that the Mašwaš, who are certainly not the Berber Maxyes, modern Mazigh, as generally assumed, invaded the land of Tehenu, or Marmarica, and made it the basis for further operations against Egypt. In the same inscription are listed the northern peoples who were allied with the Mašwaš (Breasted, AR III, 241 ff.) the Aqawaiš (sic) Turša, Luka, Šardina, Škšš.

<sup>2</sup> It is extremely doubtful whether the Achaean migration represented a gradual influx of Hellenic tribes, beginning perhaps before the middle of the second millennium, or whether it took place in a single movement, toward the close of the thirteenth century, two or three centuries before the Dorian migration. It is now fashionable among Egean archaeologists to place the Trojan war just before a Hellenic migration, whatever its ethnic nature may have been.

writing *Kaski*)<sup>1</sup> occupied Alsi (Eg. 'r'-s'; see below) in northwestern Mesopotamia or southwestern Armenia, as stated also in the inscriptions of Tiglathpileser I., and, as stated only in the Egyptian records, northern Syria, including the cities of Carchemish, Arvad, Qatna (modern Homs),<sup>2</sup> and established a temporary center in central

<sup>1</sup> There can be no doubt that the statement in the prism of Tiglathpileser, I, 62 ff., that the Muškê had occupied the districts of Alzi and Puruḥumzi in southwestern Armenia fifty years before his time, or about 1170, refers to the same movement described by Rameses III (AR IV, 37 f.), since Alsi figures in both narratives. The peoples mentioned by the Assyrians are those with whom they came into direct contact, while the Egyptian accounts evidently give only the names of such as reached southern Syria, viz., the Philistines or Pelasgians, the Sicilians, Sagalassians, Wšš (Axians?), and Dainôna (the proper spelling, as appear from the Eg. *D'y-n-yw-n'* of this passage, and the Amarna Danûna). Fifty is a round number, and the relation between the Assyrian and Egyptian chronology in this century is unfortunately not precisely certain. The Phrygian Moschians, to whom king Midas is reckoned by Sargon III. in the eighth century, were naturally the last of the invaders, who drove the Anatolians before them, but made no attempt themselves to follow the latter into southern Syria. Before them came the Kaškaš and the Urumi, who were according to Tiglathpileser, II, 100 ff., Hittite peoples, thus agreeing with the Egyptian inscriptions and the geographical indications, who occupied cities of Subartu, the Assyrian name for Mitanni. While the Cataonians thus pushed into Mitanni, their westerly neighbors, the Sagalassians, Axians, and Dainôna, pushed west of them into Syria. It may be remarked that the Dainôna can have nothing to do with the Greek Danaans, *Danawoi*, but may have been a nation of Cilician or Pamphylian pirates, against whose raids Kilammu of Ya'di, on the Gulf of Alexandretta, was forced to secure Assyrian help about 825 B. C. In the Amarna period Abimilki of Tyre reports that the king of Danuna had died, evidently to the satisfaction of the Tyrian. The Dôdanîm of Gen. X, mentioned with the Kittim are evidently these same Danônîm (as we should perhaps read the Hebrew name, called Rôdanîm in Chronicles), who seem to have given their name later, presumably by right of conquest, to a part of Cyprus, called Yadanān or Yadnan in the Assyrian texts, i. e., *i-Danan*, a Phœnician term meaning "Island of the Danan," corresponding to the Hebrew *îyê-Kittiyîm*, "Isles of the Kitteans." It hardly seems possible that the Philistines and Sicilians took the land-route. The fact that people with feather head-dress appear in chariots on the monuments of Rameses III., depicting the war with the Sea-peoples, does not prove anything, since we know from other sources that the Lycians, the men of the Phaestos disk, and an Anatolian folk defeated by Sennacherib all wear the same head-gear.

<sup>2</sup> From general geographical considerations, Winckler, Knudtzon, and Ebeling have reached the conclusion that Qatna was located near Homs, ancient Emesa (EA 1107 ff.), but none of them seem to have observed that Qatna is identical in name with modern Qaṭṭīneh, northeast of *bahret Qaṭṭīneh*, the Lake of Emesa, on the railroad from Homs to Ba'albek. Perhaps ancient Qatna was situated at Tell Ḥalaf, six to eight km. east of modern Homs. The Egyptians write the name Qatē; the current spelling Qode is wrong.

Syria (Amûru) for further operations. Meanwhile Rameses had defeated the allied fleets of the Philistines and the Sicilians in a naval battle,<sup>1</sup> and was able to turn his attention to the land invaders, who were defeated in Šahi, that is, somewhere in the southern part of Syria, presumably on the coastal plain. Despite the repulse of the northerners, some remnants probably succeeded in winning a foothold in the country or settled later in small groups. Sisera of Harosheth may have been Egean by race, since his name is not Semitic, and the phrase *חֲרֹשֶׁת הַנְּגִיִּם* can hardly be rendered otherwise than "Harosheth of the northern hordes".<sup>2</sup>

From the Song of Deborah it is evident that the Israelite occupation of Palestine was not too recent an event. The success of Shamgar is a distinct set-back for Israel, which had already begun to flourish through the peaceful means of commerce:

In the days of Shamgar ben-Anath . . . the caravans ceased.

After Shamgar's successful stand, presumably in connection with a Canaanite coalition, stiffened by the aid of Egyptian mercenaries, against the Philistines, he maintained his ascendancy over Galilee, like a mediaeval robber-knight, by keeping a small army of retainers, supported by the robbery of caravans and by exactions levied from the villages. In the same way Zatatna or Sutatna<sup>3</sup> of Akko, in the Amarna age, had terrorized western and southern Galilee, as far as

<sup>1</sup> Cf. page 11, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> I will show later that *Gôyîm* in Gen. XIV refers to the northern hordes, as observed first by Sayce. This explanation of *Harôšet hag-gôyîm*, which is undoubtedly correct, is due to Garstang. Harosheth is in name clearly identical with the modern Hârithîya, in the narrows of the Kishon, close to the railway from Haifâ to 'Afulê; *th* for *sh* is a common linguistic back-formation in words taken over from Assyrian and Hebrew into Aramaic and Arabic (*Athûr* for *Ašûr*, etc.), a process due to the fact that the frequent etymological correspondence between these sounds set up an involuntary mental association. I am inclined to think that the correct form of the word is Hârîšat, etymologically identical with Ar. *harîsch*, "enclosure, sheep-fold" (also the meaning of the place-name Hazor) and changed in later Hebrew to *Harôšet* by popular etymology. That Tell 'Amr is a Canaanite site seems to be proved by the fact that Pythian-Adams has picked up "Cypriote" potsherds from the side of the mound.

<sup>3</sup> The cuneiform writing Šutatna here stands for Sutatna. While the northern Mesopotamian records are fairly consistent in following the Assyrian practice of exchanging the values of the sibilants, the Amarna correspondence from Palestine is hopelessly irregular, sometimes adopting the Babylonian values, sometimes the Assyrian.



Megiddo; a letter is extant from the Babylonian king, complaining because the men of Zatatna had waylaid his messengers at Hannathon in western Galilee. Just as Zatatna had escaped by professing allegiance to the Pharaoh and sending gifts, accompanied, no doubt, by bribes in the right place, so Shamgar was able to harmonize a nominal subjection to the commands of the Pharaoh with a total disregard for the rights of the Pharaoh's servants, though it is possible that Shamgar was considered as the local Egyptian governor, whose legitimate prey the Israelites were.

After the fall of Shamgar, the hegemony of Galilee passed to Sisera of Harosheth,<sup>1</sup> in the narrows of the Kishon, southeast of Akko.<sup>2</sup> By this time the Israelites were sufficiently galled by the raids of Shamgar to resent bitterly the prospect of a new tyrant, perhaps himself a member of the hated Egean race. Accordingly, under the leadership of Deborah, modern Debûrieh,<sup>3</sup> at the foot of Tabor,

<sup>1</sup> It has been suggested that the *Kftyr* name which Wainwright, AAA 6, 32, note 1, gives as *B-n-sa-si-ra*, from Müller's article, MVAG 1900, 9, is to be combined with the Sisera of Judges and identified with the Benê Sisera of Ezra II:53. The suggestion is very ingenious, but unfortunately does not harmonize with the Egyptian writing, which is actually *B-n-d'-sy-r'*; *Sisera* would be *T'-t'-r'*. However, it is probable enough that Sisera belonged to the *Kftyr*, who correspond to the Sea-people in general (cf. page 9, note 2).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. page 12, note 2.

<sup>3</sup> For the identity of the Deborah of Jud. V with the city of *Dbrt* in Issachar, modern Debûrieh (not Debûriyeh) see especially Haupt in the Wellhausen *Festschrift*, p. 201. There can be no question that the term *אם בִּישְׂרָאֵל* means "metropolis in Israel", as this was a regular Hebrew idiom. How very unclear the role which she has been supposed to play is may be seen from Grant's recent article *AJSJL* 36, 295 ff. As noted by several scholars, the idea that there was a woman called Deborah is based upon the tradition of Rebecca's nurse Deborah, who was said to be buried under the oak called *allôn bakût*, below Bethel, while Deborah the prophetess is referred to a residence under the *tômer* tree (palm?) between Bethel and Ramah. The latter is purely mythical, and, as her name, "bee", shows, corresponds to the nurse of Zeus, Melissa, "bee," who according to one form of the myth (Preller<sup>5</sup> 133) was, with her sister, the she-goat Amalthea, daughter of a Cretan king Melisseus. She and her sister nursed the infant Zeus with milk and honey, the food of the gods (cf. with Roscher, the *אֶרֶץ בְּת חַלֵּב* (רִיבֵשׁ), and Melissa later became the first priestess of the Magna Mater. I have elsewhere showed that the name *Ribqah*, Rebecca, is probably the same word as Assy. *riqibtu*, for *\*ribiqtu*, "clod, soil" from *rabâqu*, "break clods, cultivate ground," and that Rebecca is thus the earth-mother who gives birth to the bull-god, Jacob, just as Zeus and Dionysus are sons of the earth-mothers, Rhea and Semele. It is evident that her nurse Deborah, i. e., her priestess, and nurse of her son Jacob, belongs in the same category as the Cretan Melissa.



probably the leading town of Issachar at that time, the clans and tribes of the districts around the Plain of Esdraelon, who were most threatened by the new robber, rushed to arms, and attacked Sisera in the Kishon Valley. As so poetically described in the Song, a sudden storm joined its forces to the Israelite army, and Sisera was utterly routed, his chariots and horses being rendered useless in the muddy plain, or swept away by the Kishon, swelling rapidly from a sluggish stream to a mighty torrent.

Soon afterwards the Philistines and Sicilians settled definitely in Palestine, but at first were too few in numbers, and too busy consolidating their new territories to molest the Israelites much, though they drove the tribe of Dan from the region of Joppa into the hills, whence part of the tribe, cramped for room, migrated to the north, and extended the bounds of Israel by the occupation of the fertile district of Laish, modern Tell-el-Qâdi. About 1115 (fifth year of Rameses XII.) the Egyptian envoy Wen-Amôn stopped at Dor on his way to Phœnicia, and found the Sikel chief *Bdr* (vocalization uncertain) in quiet and recognized control of the town. The Hebrew traditions make the oppression of the Israelites by the Philistines begin at about the same time, to infer from the numbers preserved, which must naturally be taken *cum grano salis*. Jud. XIII: 1, they are said to have oppressed Israel forty years (*i. e.* about a generation) before Samson's career, and XVI: 31 the latter is stated to have "judged Israel" twenty years more. Then, as we are led by the fragmentary account to infer, the Philistines resumed their raids, and about 1050 succeeded in winning the upper hand by defeating Israel, and capturing the palladium of Yahweh. This would make the beginning of the first oppression lie about  $1050 + x$  (Eli's judgeship)  $+ 20 (\pm) + 40 (\pm) = 1110 + x$ .

While we must place the Conquest a reasonable length of time before the first Philistine irruption and the career of Shamgar, we certainly cannot depend on the Hebrew numbers, which place the date of this event  $146 \text{ years} + x$  (lifetime of Joshua and the elders) before Shamgar, and  $166 + x$  before the fall of Sisera. It is not impossible that the lengths of the oppressions of Chushanrishathaim<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The name *Kušan-riš'at iy im* means literally "Chushan of the double wickedness." Kušan was an Aramean tribe of the Syrian desert, mentioned in Habakkuk III along with Midian (this poem is an extremely archaic fragment, perhaps

and Eglon, eight and eighteen years respectively, are right, but as we have no reason for considering them as consecutive, they cannot be made the basis of a reckoning. Happily, however, the Egyptian inscriptions again come to our rescue, enabling us to fix a *terminus ad quem* and *terminus a quo* quite independent of the Hebrew numbers. The former is established at 1225 by the famous stele of Meyneptah, celebrating his victory over the Libyans in 1220, and mentioning his previous conquests and victories in Palestine. During the long senility of Rameses the Great, Palestine had slipped from the Pharaoh's grasp, and even the coastal plain had ceased paying tribute. Accordingly, the Pharaoh Meyneptah, already growing old, was obliged to march up the sea-coast, capturing Ascalon and Gezer, and defeating Israel.<sup>1</sup>

The *terminus a quo* of the Exodus, which took place about forty, or since this number is usually equivalent to a generation, more nearly thirty years before the Conquest, is fixed by the mention of the construction of the towns of Rameses (*i. e.* Pey-Ra'meses) and Pithom (*i. e.* Pey-Tûm) by the Hebrew gangs under the Egyptian *corvée*. As these towns were built by Rameses II., the Exodus must be placed after his accession in 1292. Can we reach a conclusion more exact than this? I believe it is possible, thanks to a lucky chance. Ex. XII: 40f. the Exodus is said to have occurred just 430 years after the entrance of the Hebrews into Egypt. The number 430 is not cyclic, nor can it well be explained as a scribal computation, like the number 480 for the period between the Exodus

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nearly as old as the Song of Deborah). The idea that this marauding tribe, whose atrocities seem to have made it as proverbial as the "thrice-wretched" Nicanor, was a king of Mesopotamia is based on a later misunderstanding of the ending *ayim*, which also appears in *Aram-naharayim*. There is no room in the Mesopotamian history of this period for such a great conqueror.

<sup>1</sup> There is no reason to assume that Meyneptah defeated an Israelitish host in a pitched battle; it is far more likely that he dispersed an encampment of the Danites in the Plain of Sharon. The statement, "Their seed has become nonexistent," does not mean that their grain-fields were devastated, as Spiegelberg thought for a time (Rameses III. uses the same expression regarding the Sea-peoples, who had no fields of grain), but simply that the males are slain; the next line says that "Syria has become like a widow for Egypt." — Since the males were all killed, the posterity of the captured women would belong to the Egyptians who enslaved them.

and the construction of the Temple.<sup>1</sup> Since we can hardly believe that the Hebrews, most of the time in a condition of serfdom, kept an accurate account of the time on their own account, we may suppose that the number is based upon an Egyptian era of some sort.

We are fortunate enough to be able to point to exactly such an era, in use at precisely the Ramessid period, and in northeastern Egypt to boot—the era of Tanis. This era is found on the so called Four Hundred Year Stele, discovered by Mariette at Tanis.<sup>2</sup> Rameses II. sent one of his most important officials, Seti, among other things governor of the fortress of Sile (“Zaru”) on the northeastern frontier, to Tanis in order to dedicate a stele to the god Set in honour of his father, Seti I., evidently at the very beginning of his reign, though this has, on insufficient grounds, been doubted. The inscription is dated on the fourth day of the twelfth month of the four hundredth year of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, A-pahte-Set Nebtey. Since the name of this king is compounded with the name of the god Set, of Tanis, whom the Hyksos adopted as their patron, substituting his name for that of Rê in their

<sup>1</sup> The number 480 is equivalent to twelve generations of forty years each. It is further exactly equal to the summation of the regnal years given in the Book of Kings for all the kings of Judah from the beginning of a cycle in the fourth year of Solomon to the destruction of the Temple by the Chaldeans. We are dealing with precisely the same system as that employed by the Babylonian chronologers to adjust their chronology. The historiographers of Sargon III. counted up the years of the dynasties listed in the official tablets from Sargon I., whose illustrious name the Assyrian adopted, and whose half-fabulous exploits he consciously emulated. The real interval between them was about 2300 years, but by this time a number of contemporaneous dynasties, such as these of the Sea Lands and Larsa, which alone lasted about 450 years, were included in the list of successive dynasties, just as in Egypt, so the total interval was brought up to very nearly 3000 years. Since this was the length of a world-month in the Mesopotamian astrological system (this fact I will prove elsewhere; suffice it to say that the old Mesopotamian world year of 36,000 common years, based on 360 days of a century each, is preserved in the Harrânian world year of 26,525 common years, or a Julian year of days a century long), the inscriptions of Sargon say that the West-land had last been subdued a lunar cycle before him, naturally by Sargon I., whose conquest of the West figures so prominently in the omîna. The interval of 3000 years was now generally accepted, so when the archaeologist king Nabonidus, nearly two hundred years later, wishes to date Narâm-Šîn, son of Sargon, he adds 200 years, obtaining 3200. This is the simple solution of the two vexed chronological questions.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Breasted, AR III, 226—228.

throne-names, we evidently have here the era of the Hyksos occupation and rebuilding of Tanis, which, along with its twin-city, Avaris, remained their focus in Egypt. The Hyksos era then falls 1692 B. C., or a few years later, approximately 1690; their rule lasted about 110 years, coming to a close with the victory of the Theban monarch Amosis (Ahmâsey) about 1580, a few years before the final capture of Avaris.

We have excellent reasons for combining the Hebrew entrance into Goshen<sup>1</sup> with the Hyksos invasion. Num. XIII: 22 we have the explicit statement that Tanis was built seven years after Hebron, which had clearly been one of the last stations of the Hyksos army before its conquest of Lower Egypt. In view of the intimate connection between Abram and Hebron, as well as the tradition of his journey to Egypt, later modified by contamination with the saga of Abimelech, and displaced by the saga of Jacob, we cannot doubt that this allusion is a stray fragment of the Hebrew historical traditions; the number seven is folkloristic, and not to be taken seriously. The story of Abram's descent into Egypt is the saga connected with the chieftain, whose historicity can no longer be denied,<sup>2</sup> while the story of the entrance of the Benê Ya'qob, the clan of the Hebrew people to which Abram belonged, is the saga of the people; Jacob is the eponymous ancestor of his tribe, who received divine honors as the bull-god.<sup>3</sup> That the Benê Ya'qob played an important part in the Hyksos confederation is certain from the name Ya'qob-har of one of the Hyksos dynasts, whose scarabs are found along with those of 'Anat-har ('Anat is the

<sup>1</sup> While the name Goshen appears in the LXX as *Gesen*, perhaps following good tradition, Naville's Egyptian district of *Gsmw* is wholly erroneous; we must naturally read *Šsmw*, as pointed out recently by Gardiner. The name has, accordingly, not been found yet.

<sup>2</sup> Quite aside from the non-folkloristic character of most of the stories connected with his name, in which he differs so radically from Isaac and Jacob, and the fact that there is absolutely no evidence for his divine or eponymous nature, is the fact that the name has recently been discovered by Ungnad and Lütz on tablets from the First Dynasty of Babylon, cir. 2000—1950 B. C. The most interesting fact is that both forms, *Abamram*, i. e. "Exalted as to father" (cf. JBL 37, 133, note 21) and *Abaraḥam* = \**Abam-raḥam* are found, thus confirming the Hebrew tradition that he had two names, though naturally disproving the late haggadic etymologies given in Genesis.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. JBL 37, 117.



Canaanite goddess of war, worshiped at Beth-Anath in Galilee). This explains the Hebrew traditions of a favorable reception by a friendly king, who settled them in the finest part of the land, whose vizier was a member of their own race.<sup>1</sup> I venture to suggest that the 110 years of Joseph's life, though curiously identical with the stereotyped life-time of an Egyptian sage, are a reminiscence of the 110 years during which the Hyksos held sway in Egypt, before the rise of the king who "knew not Joseph."

If the Israelite era is identical with the Hyksos era of Tanis, we must place the Exodus not less than thirty years after the beginning of Rameses II.'s reign, or after B. C. 1262, at approximately 1260. Placing the Conquest approximately a generation later, it falls about 1230, which is perhaps as close to accuracy as we will ever get.

The account of the Conquest given in the Book of Joshua is highly colored, to be sure, but is not so much altered and embellished as generally believed now. The material given in the Amarna Tablets, the Egyptian inscriptions, the variant account of J, and scattered references elsewhere enable us to correct the one-sided narrative in Joshua. For some centuries before the Conquest, probably from the time of Abram, the central highlands and the arid outskirts of Palestine had been occupied by Hebrew, *i. e.* Aramean, tribes, which appear to be gaining ground in the Amarna correspondence, especially in the letters from Jerusalem. According to Gen. XLVIII: 22, explained by XXXIV, the Benê Ya'qob had occupied Shechem, which we find in the possession of the Hebrews in the Amarna Letters. These settled Hebrews had doubtless adopted the *šfūt Ken'ān* before the invasion of Joshua, giving up their original Aramaic dialect.<sup>2</sup> The conquest of Palestine by the Israelites would

<sup>1</sup> For the Egyptian background of the story of Joseph see especially JBL 37, 128 ff., where I have pointed out some previously unnoticed elements in the Egyptian part of the pericope.

<sup>2</sup> Since the consistent Hebrew tradition as preserved in the Old Testament makes Hebrew equivalent to Aramean, or rather Aramean Bedouin (ארמי אבר) and connects the patriarchal stories with the Arameans, we cannot doubt that the 'Abir or Hebrews belong to the same group as the Ahlâmê (*ahlâm* is the collective from *hilm*, "friend, confederate," in Arabic) later split into the two main branches of the Aramu and the Kašdu, or Chaldeans. We can trace the encroachments of the Hebrews or Arameans for a thousand years, from the reign of Kīm-Šin to their final settlement in Syria and Mesopotamia in the twelfth century, just as the Arabs first appear clearly in history 1500 years before their

doubtless have proved much more difficult if the Hebrews already in the country had not joined the newcomers, and adopted the Yahwist creed along with the name Israel. It is clear that there were no serious conflicts between the two Hebrew branches, since none are mentioned, and the highland of Ephraim is assumed in the accounts of the Conquest to have been occupied at once by Joshua, without a word regarding resistance. In the same way the Arab historians say nothing about the relation between the Arabs already in Palestine<sup>1</sup> and the Muslim invaders. The older stratum of Hebrews is, as pointed out by Weinheimer, sharply distinguished from the Israelites proper in the passages I. Sam. XIII: 6-7, XIV: 21, from which it follows that certain sections of the Hebrew people, living under Philistine domination, and probaly still semi-nomadic, like the modern Bedawin in the region of Caesarea, had not been fused with Israel. In the Book of Joshua all traditions disagreeing with the official priestly version of the Conquest have been suppressed, precisely as the official Muslim historiographers endeavored to eliminate all pre-Islamic traditions contrary to the orthodox theory.

The followers of Moses were partly Egyptianized Hebrews of the Benê Ya'qob, partly Nubian and Egyptian converts to Yahwism,<sup>2</sup>

final settlement. The mixing of peoples explains why we have Aramaic words and forms even in pre-exilic Hebrew, forms such as *ndr*, "vow" (Aram.) besides *nzr*, "consecrate" (Canaanite-Hebrew), both from original *ndr*, "vow." It is certain that the people of Palestine and Syria, with exception of the Hittite, Indo-Iranian, and Horite (Mitannian) ruling classes, spoke Hebrew, which we know from their proper names and the Canaanite glosses in the Amarna letters. The Amorite proper names, found in profusion from the middle of the third millennium down to past the middle of the second in the cuneiform inscriptions of Babylonia, Assyria, Hana, and Cappadocia, are unquestionably Hebrew; the name Abamram or Abaraham is certainly not Babylonian, as Ungnad supposed, but Amorite or Aramean. I have tried to show, JEA 6, 92f., that the Syrian place-names of the thirtieth century B. C. were already Hebrew, thus supporting Clay's contention that Syria was Amorite from before the dawn of history. As Borchardt has recently pointed out (MVAG 22, 342) Athothis, the second Pharaoh of the First Dynasty, invaded Syria (about 2900, according to my chronology), and in the royal tombs of this dynasty the conquered people are represented as the same conventional Amorite type which we find on the monuments fifteen centuries later.

<sup>1</sup> For the Arabs in Palestine before Islam cf. Krauss, ZDMG 70, 325 ff.

<sup>2</sup> The Aaronids very often wear Egyptian names: Moses = (Ra'-)môse; Hophni = H/fnn; Phinehas = Penhâse, a common type of name among Egyptian slaves of foreign extraction, meaning "the Nubian;" Merari = Mrry (Mrrw); Hur = Hr. The Aaronid priesthood, to judge from the names, was composed of Egyptians,

and in part Hebrew-Aramean tribes, such as the Kenites and Kenizzites, who joined him after the Exodus. At Kadesh the Yahwists divided into two groups. The more important one, under Joshua—perhaps still under Moses's leadership—, skirted the Dead Sea, discouraged, we may suppose, by the failure of the first tentative against the hill-country of Judah, and after conquering the Amorite states beyond Jordan adopted the tribal name Israel, "God fights." The second group, under Caleb, calling itself *Yehûdâh*,<sup>1</sup> undaunted by the initial failure, occupied Judah from the south. The central line of fortresses, Jerusalem-Gezer, was not incorporated into the Hebrew heritage until the time of the Kingdom. The merit of having seen that the account of conquest of the south given by J in Num. XIV: 40-45, XXI: 1-3, Jud. I is a unit, and gives a consistent narrative, older than the form in Joshua, belongs mainly to Eduard Meyer and Steuernagel.

We have already reached a tentative date for Abram at *cir.* 1700 B. C. Fortunately we can prove this view of the chronological situation from wholly independent considerations, especially the historical background of Gen. XIV. The fourteenth chapter of Genesis has long been a bone of contention among scholars, conservatives usually

though I hardly believe now that Jethro was an Egyptian (JBL 37, 140), Egyptianized Hebrews, and Nubians. It is very conceivable that Petepre, priest of the sun at Heliopolis, was really the father-in-law of Moses instead of Joseph as suggested by Haupt; at all events Moses is known to have had at least two, wives, one a Kenite, Zipporah, daughter of Jethro, and the other a Nubian (*Kûšî*). Moreover, Mosaism still preserves the most indubitable signs of its Egyptian cradle (JBL 37, 141 f.), and Aaron's name is probably Egyptian. On the other hand, Levi is not an Egyptian name, but the eponymous ancestor of the guild of Levites, or temple-attendants (*Revue d'Assyr.* 16, 184). The "mixed multitude", which is said to have accompanied Moses in the Exodus, evidently consisted of slaves of every race, who seized their chance to escape from Egypt along with the Hebrew migration. Moses' religion of freedom and justice naturally appealed to slaves with peculiar force.

<sup>1</sup> *Yehûdâh* is properly a collective noun referring to the community of Yahwists, as seen first by Haupt (ZDMG 63, 513); it is derived from \**yehûdêh*, on the analogy of *yafâh*: *yafêh*. \**Yehûdêh* may be a *pu'al* form, for \**yehuddêh*, from *hdy*, lead, used in Arabic of religious guidance; *muhtadûna* means in the Qur'ân "those who are divinely guided", and *hûdâ* is "divine guidance, gospel". It is also possible to compare Ar. *haddâ*, "present, offer", and \**ahdâ*, "present, dedicate (sacrificial victim)"; the "Kenite" inscription No. 345 I would read *Msh-B'tt yhd (yuhaddi) l-B'tt*, "Mašah-Ba'alat dedicates (this) to Ba'alat". In the latter case *Yehûdâh* would mean properly "the consecrated people".

accepting its entire historicity, and the left wing regarding it as a propagandist leaflet from the fifth century, designed to strengthen the hands of the patriotic supporters of Zerubbabel.<sup>1</sup> Since the document does not belong to any of the sources, J, E, D, P, it is evidently a later addition, from the close of the sixth century, a conclusion required, moreover, by its strongly archaizing character, which introduces us to the priestly learning of post-exilic Judaism. There are some serious errors in archaizing, the clearest of which is Dan in place of the older Laish (Eg. *R'-wy-s'*). Besides the folkloristic elements represented by the Rephaim, which elsewhere in the Old Testament are the shades of the dead, and the enchanted submarine cities of Sodom and Gomorrah, there are motives from saga, such as the three eponymous confederates of Abram, the phenomenal victory of Abram's little band over the mighty host of the eastern kings, and the priestly story of Melchizedek, a clever bit of didactics.<sup>2</sup> Yet hyperscepticism seems uncalled for. The names of the eastern monarchs will appear later as genuine, and, though the names Bera (ברע) of Sodom and Birsha (ברשע) of Gomorrah are obviously artificial formations from the verbs רעע and רשע, "be evil, wicked,"<sup>3</sup> the names Shinab (שנאב = the god of the moon<sup>4</sup> is father) of Admah,

<sup>1</sup> See especially Haupt, OLZ 18, 70 ff., and Asmussen, ZATW 34, 36 ff.

<sup>2</sup> As generally recognized, the story was intended to promote the payment of tithes to the priests in Jerusalem. The name מלכיצדק means literally "legitimate king" (Haupt), the *î* being *hireq compaginis*, and not the pronominal suffix, and thus corresponds exactly in meaning to Assyrian *Šarru-kēnu* (*kēnu* corresponds precisely to *ḡaddiq*, and *kittu* to *ḡadaqāh*), the name of three Mesopotamian kings, two of whom were usurpers. There can be very little doubt that the legend according to which Melchizedek was eternal, reincarnating himself in certain great prophets and priests of later ages, is much older than the Christian era, and elsewhere I have shown that the true prototype of Elias, Enoch, Melchizedek, etc., in the role of eternally recurrent helper of mankind is the Babylonian Atrahasis. There is some reason to suppose that Sargon of Assyria wished to have men believe that he was a reincarnation of his great predecessor (cf. page 16, note 1) and this Sargon legend may well have had some influence in the creation of the story of Melchizedek.

<sup>3</sup> It may be observed that in modern Syrian Arabic, humorous or contemptuous words are often formed from others by changing the first letter to *b*, as *bartūm* from *ḥartūm*, "snout." Naturally, the formation may be purely modern.

<sup>4</sup> The original Semitic form of the moon-god's name is *Šin* (so first Haupt), as in South Arabian and Babylonian. In northern Mesopotamia we have the usual interchange of the sibilants, and the form becomes *Sin*, as shown by the Hebrew and Aramean transcription with ס. Here also belongs *Sin-uballit* or



and Shemeber, or perhaps Shemabbir (שמאבר = the god Shem<sup>1</sup> is mighty) of Zeboim are genuine, and very interesting. The words זער בלע מלך and זער בלע מלך are corrupted from זער בלע מלך, "And Bela king of Zoar", just as in Jos. X: 3, דביר מלך עגלון is a mistake for דביר מלך עגלון, "And Eglon king of Debir", which explains the mention of Debir in v. 38f. Just as Eglon is a good personal name; borne by a king of Moab, so the name Bela was borne by the first king of Edom.<sup>2</sup>

What shall we say of the four eastern kings, of Chedorlaomer (כדר-לעמר) of Elam, of Arioch (ארייך) of Ellasar, Tidal (תרעל) of Hordes (גוים) and Amraphel (אמרפל) of Shinar (שנער)? The latter has hitherto been identified with Hammurabi of Babylon, despite the fact that only two consonants of the five are the same. Nor is the case better with the actual Amorite pronunciation of the name, which we now know to have been 'Ammu-rawih,<sup>3</sup> since here the

Sanballat, whose name thus goes back to Assyrian influence rather than to Kuthean, as commonly assumed. For a number of writings of the Babylonian form of the name cf. Eisler, *Die kenitischen Wehinschriften der Hyksoszeit*, p. 67, whose remarks on this subject are sounder than usual; add שנין, Sin-iddin, a common name in the Neo-Babylonian period (Pap. Eleph., 18. 2. 19). The name perhaps meant originally "the shiner," connected with Ar. *snay*, "shine."

<sup>1</sup> The "Name of God" was hypostatized among the Semites; it is almost certain that the patriarch Shem was originally a deity. Cf. also the Syrian Symbetylos, the *Ešembêl* of the Elephantine documents, which means literally "name of the house of god." The Phoenician divine name *Ešmân* corresponds etymologically to an \**Ešmân*, an adjectival formation from *ešm*, name, Heb. *šem*, since *û*, which became *ô* in Hebrew, went on to become *û* in Phoenician.

<sup>2</sup> Bela' ben-Be'ôr is evidently identical with Bil'am ben-Be'or, the prophet, from Pethor (Assyr. Pitru) in Beth Eden (ארץ בני עמ) must be read ארץ בני ערן an Aramaic district in northern Syria and the adjoining part of Mesopotamia. It has long been known that the first group of Edomite rulers was purely Aramaic in race. The Moabite Stone shows similarly that the dialect of Moab was properly Aramaic, even though Hebrew was the literary language.

<sup>3</sup> It may be considered now that this spelling of the name, first pointed out by Luckenbill, is absolutely certain. The name is written variously, *Hammurabi*, *Hammurawi*, *Ammurabi*, *Hammurabilî*; Clay's objection (*Empire of the Amorites*, p. 113, note 4) to Luckenbill's theory on the ground that the form with *b* suggests that *PI* be read *pi* instead of the usual *wi* is weakened by such doublets as *Lulluwi*, *Lullubi*; *Arbum*, *Arwum*. Haupt saw long ago that Assy. *b* had a tendency to be pronounced as *v*. The convincing evidence is furnished by the fact that the Babylonian translation of the name, *Kimtu rapastum*, "the clan is wide," requires the reading 'Ammu-rawih; in South Arabian the causative *hrwh* is frequently employed (e. g., Halévy 349) in precisely the sense of "extending the bounds of the tribe." Cf. also Heb. Reháb-am (Rehoboam), "He has extended the tribe."

similarity is even less. Formerly Arioch was identified with Warad-Sin of Larsa, whose name was punningly read Eri-Aku. Now we know, not only that this reading is nonsense, but that he died thirty years before Hammurabi ascended the throne as a mere youth. Furthermore, most of the rulers of Elam, which was then a dependancy of Babylonia, are known for this period, and there is no room for Chedorlaomer among them. We may, as sober historians, breathe a sigh of relief at the passing of this mirage, since the date of Hammurabi is now astronomically fixed,<sup>1</sup> and this date is 2123–2180 B. C., or more than nine hundred years before the date which we have fixed for the Exodus.

Happily, however, we are not left to consider the merits of an *argumentum e silentio*, since there is now evidence at hand for an entirely new historical setting, which no one has so far perceived. In a Babylonian text from the Arsacid period, published originally by Pinches,<sup>2</sup> and last treated by Jeremias,<sup>3</sup> occur the names of Kudur-Lagamal,<sup>4</sup> that is, Kutur-Lagamar,<sup>5</sup> of Elam, Tukultî-Bêlit-ilâni<sup>6</sup> son of Arad-Ekua,<sup>7</sup> and Tudhula son of Gazza[?]. It was seen by

<sup>1</sup> Cf. page 5, note 1, above.

<sup>2</sup> *Journal of the Victoria Institute*, 29, 56 ff.

<sup>3</sup> MVAG 21 (Hommel, *Festschrift*) 69 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Written KU-KU-KU-(KU)-MAL, a sort of a rebus found elsewhere in this late tablet. The solution is Kudur-laḥamal (KU-KU = *laḥāmu*, Delitzsch, *Handwörterbuch*, p. 375). Hüsing, *Quellen zur Geschichte Elams*, p. 22, note 1 states, though without proof, that KU-KU-MAL in this name = *Lagamal*, but his further suggested identification of Kudur-Lagamal with LA-AN-KU-KU, an Elamite ruler of the 23<sup>rd</sup> century, is naturally out of the question. The writing *Lagamal* is the regular Babylonian form of the Elamite *Lagamar*, found, for example, in the name of the king Šilhina-hamru-Lagamar, of the twelfth century; the writing *Lagamal* is also found in the Elamite texts, as in *Délégation en Perse*, III, 49. The native Elamite pronunciation of the name was apparently *Laghamar*, agreeing with Hebrew לעמר.

<sup>5</sup> *Kudur* appears in Elamite as *Kutir* or *Kutur*; the Elamites, like other Caucasian peoples, did not distinguish clearly between voiced and voiceless stops.

<sup>6</sup> The name is written BAD-MAX-ilâni, but Jeremias's *Dur-maḥ-ilâni* is impossible. According to Meissner, 2919, BAD-MAX had the value *tukulti*, which might also belong to BAD, "protection," alone. Since MAX alternates with *Bêlit-ilâni*, I have no hesitation in reading the name *Tukultî-Bêlit-ilâni*, "My help is the lady of the gods," a common type of name about the middle of the second millennium. *Bêlit-ilî*, later *Bêlit-ilâni*, was one of the most popular deities about 2000 B. C.

<sup>7</sup> Also written in our text, erroneously, *Arad-e-a-ku*. *Ekua* was the name of the chapel of Maruduk in the temple Esagila, in Babylon, so our man may have been a Babylonian rebel against the Kossean dynasty.

Pinches that the first name, though not fully understood, was identical with Chedorlaomer, and that the last was Tidal,<sup>1</sup> but the similarity between Arad-Ekua and Arioch, though accidental, proved misleading. The nature of the text has been partially elucidated by Jeremias. It is a moralizing essay, very much in the style of the Jewish prophetic historians. Whenever the Babylonians sin against their gods they suffer a foreign invasion, but the Nemesis which overtakes them deals even more severely with the impious invader. The three oppressors mentioned above meet violent deaths by assassination as the divine penalty for having violated the sacred soil of the gods by their atrocities. Pinches at first wished to read the name Hammu[rabi] in one of the broken lines at the beginning of the tablet, but it is now certain that the historical situation presented is such as to forbid assignment to this period. Moreover, the fact that Babylonia is called Karduniaš proves conclusively that we are dealing with the Kossean period (B. C. 1742—1166).<sup>2</sup> The reason why these conquerors are not mentioned elsewhere is simply that they belong in the great dark period of Mesopotamian history, from 1900 to 1500. Unfortunately, the name of the Kossean king reigning at the time is not given in the extant remains of our document. We might be tempted to identify the Amraphel of Genesis with the contemporary Babylonian monarch, who would then be one of the five or six missing rulers from the period 1625-1450, from which at present we have only three or four names. However, there is now every reason to believe that the land of Shinar at this epoch is not Babylonia but central Mesopotamia, between the Euphrates and the Tigris, Babylonia on the south, and Mount Masius<sup>3</sup> on the north. The early Mitannian(?) name Shanghar, which the Babylonians wrote *Šanhar*, having no *gh* (ġ), the Hebrews *Šin'ar*, for *Šan'ar* by Philippi's

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also Sayce, in Garstang's *Land of the Hittites*, p. 324, note 4. Sayce correctly combined the Ummân-manda with the *gôyîm*, and further identified the name *Tudhula* with the Hittite royal name *Dudhalia*, which is, however, extremely doubtful. Sayce's suggestion that *Tantalus* is eventually the same name is conceivable, but nebulous.

<sup>2</sup> For my chronology cf. page 5, note 1.

<sup>3</sup> Mt. Masius, Assyr. Kakiari, Sum. Hašur (see *AJSL* 35, 179) was the southern boundary of the district of Kutmuḥ, in Assyrian times. It is not until the eighth century that we find the name Kutmuḥ becoming restricted to the district west of the Euphrates, called Commagene by the classical writers.

Law, and the Egyptians *Sngr*, also having no *gh*, survives in the town and mountain-range of Sinjâr, for Aramaic Singârâ = Roman Singara—*gh* was impossible for the Aramaic mouth after a consonant. Modern Sinjar is located at the apex of a rectangle whose adjoining vertices coincide with the sites of ancient Calah and Hana (Ana). It is true that in the Cypriote correspondence with Egypt in the Amarna letters, Šanhar refers to Mitanni, and that later Shinar is used in the Old Testament for Babylonia proper, but the Egyptian inscriptions and the Boghazkeui tablets show that Shanghar is distinct from either,<sup>1</sup> and lies in central Mesopotamia. The only district of Mesopotamia not mentioned in the lists containing the name of Shanghar is Hana, so I would suggest that as an independent state Shanghar centered in the district of Hana, and that, accordingly, its capital was Tirqa, chief city of Hana, just below the mouth of the Hâbûr.<sup>2</sup>

The kingdom of Hana is known to have flourished before the reign of Hammurabi,<sup>3</sup> under an Amorite dynasty, two of whose kings, 'Ammiba'il and Išarlim, are known. Under Hammurabi it became a part of the Babylonian Empire. After the downfall of the First Dynasty of Babylon, we find the great Assyrian monarch Šamši-Adad III. (cir. 1850),<sup>4</sup> who claims in his inscriptions to rule the land "between the Tigris and the Euphrates," building a temple of the god Dagon at Tirqa. Later it fell into the hands of the Kossean monarchs, at least one of whom, Kaštiliaš I. (1704—1682) is known to have ruled over Hana. Somewhat later, but not later than 1500, we find Hana a powerful state, whose king, Tukulti-Mer, son of Ilušaba, left inscriptions found at Sippar and Assur. In the inscriptions of Thutmosis III. we find about 1475 that Sngr is still an independent state, mentioned between Mitanni and Assyria, along with Babylon, Arrapha and Lulluwa (*Rw-n-rw*). While Tukulti-Mer

<sup>1</sup> See especially EA 1082 and AE 279.

<sup>2</sup> For Hana and Tirqa see especially Clay, *Empire of the Amorites*, pp. 111 ff.

<sup>3</sup> The name of the town Dûr-Išarlim is mentioned in a date formula of Hammurabi from Hana; the Babylonian monarch had different date formulas in Hana from those employed in Babylonia, just as we find the Cappadocians using their own system for dating at this time.

<sup>4</sup> So far as I can see, as a result of a revision of the Assyrian chronology on the basis of the new lists published by Weidner, this is the only possible date for the great *šar kiššati*, or king of the world.



may be placed in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, it is more likely that he was the king of Ḫana who carried off the statues of Maruduk and Šarpānīt from Babylon to Ḫana (Hani), later recovered by Agum II. (cir. 1625). Accordingly, we may place him about 1650, his father Ilušaba, also king of Ḫana, about 1660, leaving space for a ruler or two after Kaštiliaš. From the Elamite inscriptions we know that Untaš-GAL,<sup>1</sup> son of Humbanummena, invaded Babylonia and carried away the statue of the god Immeriya, "the protection of Kaštiliaš," so it is evident that the Kossean power received a severe set-back before the death of Kaštiliaš, and probable that Ḫana recovered its autonomy at this time, cir. 1690. The natural date for the Kudur-Lagamar episode is then between the reigns of Untaš-GAL and Tukulti-Mer, while Elam was strong, Babylonia was weak, and Shanghar had not yet attained its later power. The name *Amraphel* has not yet been found, but we may conjecture that it represents an *Amurru-ippal* (the god Amurru—one of the chief gods of the Amorites of Ḫana—will respond, or will reward), though *Immer-ippal*, *Immer-apla-(iddin)*, or the like are also plausible forms. We can hardly expect so happy a guess as that made by some of the first Assyriologists, who suggested that Chedorlaomer must correspond to an Elamite Kudur-Lagamar, an idea which has turned out to be correct.

I believe we may further explain Arioch of Ellasar. The combination of Ellasar with the provincial Babylonian town of Larsa is for this period impossible; were it theoretically possible, the difference between the names would be phonetically very difficult. I would therefore propose the identification of Ellasar with Alsiya or Alsî in northern Mesopotamia, reading אלסî instead of אלסר. The form of

<sup>1</sup> Hüsing's reading *Untaš-Humban* is very improbable; in place of *GAL* we must read an Elamite word for "great." Nor is Hüsing's date for Untaš-GAL, in the thirteenth century, possible; we must adopt Eduard Meyer's, given GA<sup>3</sup> § 462. In *Quellen der Geschichte Elams*, pp. 18 ff., Hüsing has erroneously identified Kiten-Hutran with Kiten-butrutaš; Hutran is a divine name, not a hypocoristicon, as shown by a comparison of the royal names Hutran-tepti and Tepti-Humban. His list on p. 19 would make a king who was reigning in 1237 rule forty years before one who was on the throne at some time between 1245 and 1237! It is not accidental that the names of the dynasty of Ike-halki are closely related to the royal names from before 1900, and not at all with those of the fourteenth and following centuries. As Kuk-Našur was contemporary with 'Ammiçadûqa, our group will fall in the eighteenth century or after, just where it is fixed by the synchronism between Untaš-GAL and Kaštiliaš I.

the name is made certain by the variant writings *Alše* (pronounced *Alse*) in the treaty between Subbiluliuma of *Ḫatte* and *Mattiuaza* of *Mitanni*, *Álzi* in the inscriptions of *Tiglathpileser I.*, *Alzia* in a Hittite geographical list from *Boghaz-keui*, and *'r'-s'* in the Egyptian lists.<sup>1</sup> As in the geographical list *Alzia* is placed between *Šanḫar* and *Papahḫi*, while in the *Mattiuaza* treaty it appears, along with *Assyria*, as a state benefiting territorially by the fall of *Mitanni*, it is to be located, where we find it in the texts of *Tiglathpileser*, in the region of *Diarbekr* and *Mardin*. At all events, it was a small *Mitannian* state, which may have been much more important at an earlier period, and have been essentially equivalent to later *Mitanni*, whose center appears to have been in this same region. It can hardly be accidental that the name *Arioch* exhibits the same formation as the *Mitannian* names *Ari-Tešub* and *Arisen*, in which *ar* means "give, gift". It is possible that *Arioch* is the equivalent of an *Ari-Aku*, "Gift of the god *Aku*," which is then the *Mitannian* name of the moon-god; in the *Cappadocian* tablets we have the name *Akua*, certainly a hypocoristicon, like *Assyrian Nābū'a* for names containing *Nābū* as the first element of a theophorous compound.

An interesting side-light upon this era of great migrations and ethnographic readjustment is thrown by the name of *Tidal*, king of *Hordes*, corresponding to the *Tudḫula* of our document, and perhaps also to the Hittite royal name *Dudḫalia*, as pointed out by *Sayce*. We are informed that *Kudur-Lagamar* levied as auxiliaries the hordes of the northern barbarians, the *Ummān-manda*, a term, meaning literally "much people," which is used later for the hordes of the *Cimmerians* and *Scythians*, and while it is not explicitly stated that *Tudḫula* was their king, in the extant fragments, it is very probable, as *Sayce* has already observed. The fourteenth chapter of *Genesis*

<sup>1</sup> Egyptologists have hitherto assumed that *Eg. 'šy* and *'r'-s'* were identical, the former being the old Egyptian form of *Alašiya-Eliša*, the latter the recent form, or rather the transliteration of the cuneiform writing into syllabic orthography (*Müller*). However, the impossibility of this view is shown by passages where they both occur together, as in *Müller, Egyptological Researches*, II, pp. 91 ff., where *'šy* and *'r'-s'* are given separately in a list of the countries containing mineral resources from the time of *Rameses II*. In several places *'r'-s'* is clearly on the continent, a fact which is one of *Wainwright's* main arguments for his continental theory of *Alašiya*. With this distinction between *Alziya* and *Alašiya* we can consider that the latter is certainly *Cyprus*, in accord with the appellative *Alasiotas* of the *Cyprian Apollo*.

thus throws important light on the first emergence of the Indo-Iranians in history, for these northern hordes can be none other. Two generations before, their pressure from the rear seems to have forced the Kosseans from the Zagros mountains into Babylonia, where they founded the Third Dynasty in 1742. Their later movements were hitherto completely obscure, but now we gain an idea of the processes of infiltration and conquest which finally led to the foundation of a new state in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, called Mitanni, whose ruling nobility, or *marianmu* (an Indo-Iranian word) were of Indo-Iranian stock, speaking an older form of Sanskrit<sup>1</sup> and supporting a dynasty whose kings bear Sanskrit names.

The historical situation now appears to be as follows. About 1675 Kudur-Lagamar of Elam, imitating the example of his predecessor, Untaş-GAL, overran Babylonia, and captured Babylon, thanks to the potent aid of his warlike barbarian auxiliaries. With their help, moreover, he was able to subdue the rest of Mesopotamia, and impressing the armies of the newly conquered states into his service, to make a formidable raid on Syria and Palestine, now almost certainly under Hyksos control. The Biblical tradition represents the eastern host as taking the Transjordanic route, contrary to the nearly universal practice of Mesopotamian armies in later times. If we can accept this view of the situation, which is as doubtful as the reliability of our source, we may suppose that the Elamite wished to strike directly at the center of the Hyksos Empire in northern Egypt, without fighting his way through the well-fortified coastal zones. At this point, however, we lose solid ground, and begin to flounder in a morass of speculations.

It is very doubtful just what the real role played by Abram was. It is possible to suppose that he was, as an important *amîr*, perhaps the head of the Benê Ya'qob, and certainly in alliance with the chiefs of the Hyksos city of Hebron, the leader of the resistance offered by the Hyksos in southern Palestine, and that he really

<sup>1</sup> It is now a commonplace of scholarship that the names of the reigning dynasty of Mitanni, as well as many of the names of Syro-Palestinian rulers of the Amarna age are Indo-Iranian; the opposition of Clark, *AJSL* 33, 261 ff., strengthens the theory by its weakness. The discovery of several Indo-Iranian divine names, Indra, Varuna, Mitra, and the Naśatya, in a treaty with Mitanni from Hattî, has been recently corroborated by the remarkable find, made independently by Jensen and Hrozný, of a number of Sanskrit numerals in the inscriptions.

defeated the enemy by his efforts. It should be observed in this connection that Abram's covenant with the Hittites at Hebron perhaps refers to the Hyksos, since it is steadily becoming more probable that the ruling element in the mixed hordes of the latter was Hittite. The greatest proof for this is the fact that the names of the six Hyksos kings are all non-Semitic, and at least one, *Hayan*, is later worn by a predecessor of the Hittite Kilammu of Šam'al. About 1925 the Hittites conquered Babylon, led by their king Mursilis I., as appears from the chronicles from Boghaz-keui recently published. Later their power seems to have been restricted to Asia Minor, at least so far as the kingdom of Ḫatte was concerned; the Hyksos were perhaps primarily a north-Syrian branch of the Hittite people. The new discoveries do not favor an extension of the Hyksos Empire under Ḫayan over the whole of Western Asia, and, though he was undoubtedly an important ruler, his basalt lion, found near Baghdād, may have been transported thither from Syria in ancient times.

While the object of our paper is primarily chronological rather than historical, it may be well to allude to the question of the provenance of Abram. As I have pointed out JBL 37 (1918), 133—136, it is hardly possible that the prototype of Ur of the Chaldees was really the city of Ur in southern Babylonia. Nor is Clay's recent suggestion, Mari, though better than his previous view, combining Ur with the town of Amurru near Sippar, tenable, for philological reasons alone. I still believe that the best light on the true ethnic and geographical background of the Hebrew traditions is furnished by the list of the postdiluvian patriarchs, where Eber represents the Aramean nomads, or 'Abir,<sup>1</sup> vouched for by the Babylonian texts from the 22<sup>nd</sup> century on, and Serug is a tribe,

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<sup>1</sup> Practically all scholars have finally adopted the view that the Ḫabiru are the Hebrews. Philologically there is no objection, since 'Abir would have to be written this way in cuneiform, and 'Abir, again, is the only natural source for Hebrew 'Ibr, since intransitive verbs and adjectives of the *fū'il* form have a strong tendency in all the Semitic languages to become *f'il* by umlaut. Since the Ḫabiru appear so widely in cuneiform sources as a nomadic people (cf. JBL 37, 135 f.) there is no objection historically. We must, it is true, distinguish between an Elamite or Kossean people called *Ḫa-bir-ū* (see Hüsing, *op. laud.* p. 94 f.) and the *Ḫa-bi-ru*, who are mentioned repeatedly in the Larsa tablets, according to Miss Grice. Luckenbill has recently advanced the view that the writing *Ḫabbiru*, alternating with *SA-GAZ* in the Boghaz-keui texts, in a single



later a town near Harrân (Assyr. Sarugi), as is also apparently Nahor, while Terah appears as a personal name in the Safaitic inscriptions, perhaps meaning "ibex", and is probably in Genesis a tribal name. Also Reu and Selah are perhaps tribal names, though possibly mythical heroes like Methuselah and the shepherd Tammuz. Arphaxad is almost certainly equivalent to the district of Arrapachitis, south-east of Assyria proper, which appears as early as the time of Hammurabi (cir. 2100), and is frequently mentioned in the course of the next millennium, in the form Arraphum, Arrapha.<sup>1</sup> On the borders of the district of Arraphum<sup>2</sup> lay the important city of Arbela, mentioned repeatedly in the tablets of the Ur Dynasty (2474—2357) as Urbillum, and somewhat later as Urbel. The Assyrian explanation as *Arba-ilu*, "four-god," is simply a popular etymology to explain a non-Semitic proper-name. Arbela still exists as the provincial town of Erbil, preserving the same name and site after nearly 4500 years of recorded existence. I would then suggest that Urbel in Arraphum or \*Arpaḥ-šadê, "Arpaḥ of the hills," may be the historical prototype of Ūr-Kašdim. It may then be, that Abram and his tribe, the Benê Ya'qob, were forced to migrate, first to western Mesopotamia, and then to Palestine under pressure from

passage, however, proves that *ḥabbiru* is a *fa'il* form, equivalent to *ḥabbîlu*, "bandit", a synonym of *ḥabbatu* = SA-GAZ (see *Am. Journ. of Theol.* 22, 37, note 1; *AJSL* 36, 244 f.). This is unquestionably plausible, but the one occurrence of the writing *Ḥabbiru*, among so many *Ḥabiru*, merely explains why SA-GAZ was taken as an ideogram for *Ḥabiru*; *Ḥûbiru* was contemptuously equated to *ḥabbîlu*, "bandit". It is unnecessary to add that the word *ḥabbiru* is unknown, as well as the stem *ḥabîru*, in Assyrian. In the light of such transpositions as 'Arabah = 'Abarah, etc. there can be no serious doubt that Haupt's explanation of the word "Hebrew" as a transposed doublet of "Arab" is correct. One form, 'Abir, was employed of themselves, in the sense of "nomad", by the Arameans, and disappears in the eleventh century as an ethnic term; the other, 'Arib, later 'Arab, was used in the same sense by the Arabs, first mentioned in the ninth century in the annals of Shalmaneser III.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *JBL* 37, 135, 138, note 28.

<sup>2</sup> In a letter to the writer Olmstead has pointed out that in Assyrian times Arbela and Arrapachitis formed separate provinces. This is quite true, but the early boundaries may have been different, as is so often the case (*e. g.* with Kutnuḥ, above), and a triumphal inscription of an early Meso-potamian monarch, perhaps of Šanḥar (De Genouillac, *Rev. d'Assyr.* 7, 151 ff.) indicates strongly that Urbel (so the name is written) was then the capital of the independent state of Arraphum, still autonomous in the fifteenth century, as we learn from the Egyptian inscriptions.

the Indo-Iranian hordes, which clearly grew intense by the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

Our chronological results, which will be stated and defended more elaborately elsewhere, may be tabulated as follows:

Accession of Hammurabi in Babylon	B. C. 2123
Twelfth Dyn. in Egypt	1996
Hittite Invasion of Babylonia; Fall of First Dyn.	c. 1925
Assyrian Empire of Šamši-Adad III.	c. 1850
Thirteenth Dyn. in Egypt; Decline of Empire	1783
Kossean Conquest of Babylonia; Third Dyn.	1742
Hyksos Occupation of Hebron; Abram in Palestine	c. 1700
Hyksos Occupation of Egypt; the Benê Ya'qob in Egypt	c. 1690
Invasion of West by Kudur-Lagamar of Elam	c. 1675
Conquest of Mesopotamia by Tukulti-Mer of Hana	c. 1650
Overthrow of Hyksos Power; Eighteenth Dyn. in Egypt	1580
Invasion of Asia by Thutmosis III.	1490
Amarna Age; Amenophis III. and IV. in Egypt	1400—1350
Birth of Moses	c. 1300
Accession of Rameses II., Pharaoh of the Oppression	1292
Exodus of the Hebrews under Moses from Egypt	c. 1260
Invasion of Palestine by Israel	c. 1230
Defeat of Israel by Meyneptah	c. 1225
First Repulse of Philistines	1190
Song of Deborah	c. 1175
Conquest of Coastal Plain by Philistines	c. 1170
Visit of Wen-Amôn to Dor	c. 1115
Death of Eli and Loss of Ark to Philistines	c. 1050

Since the foregoing paper was written, new material has come to hand. Here may be noted two important articles, Böhl's "Die Könige von Genesis 14," ZATW 36, 65—73, and Langdon's "The Habiru and the Hebrews," *Expository Times*, 1920, 324—329. Böhl identifies Tidal with the Hittite king Tudhaliā (II.), who reigned 1250 B. C., and so completely misunderstands the historical situation. He places Shinar and Ellasar correctly in Upper Mesopotamia, without connecting them with Hana and Alsî. Langdon points out that Winckler's Habbiri was a mistake for Habiri, which appears in the cuneiform text as now published. Accordingly the last philological objection to their identification with the Hebrews is removed.

# HEBREW MUSIC WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE MUSICAL INTONATIONS IN THE RECITAL OF THE PENTATEUCH

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TO what extent can the Jews be said to retain their primitive national music? This question has been frequently investigated and variously answered, but never in the light of all the evidence. The music of only a section of the different Jewish centres has been examined, and—what is the most serious omission—insufficient attention has been given to the music of the Jews of the East, where, after all, Jewish music originated.

The Exile reduced the nation to scattered fragments which have never again become reunited, and only occasionally come into temporary contact. They have had to keep guard over their culture against the encroachments of outside influences. Sometimes they have been compelled to compromise and suffer the intrusion of foreign elements, but this never passed beyond definite limits: if there was a danger of this limit being passed the national spirit rebelled and rejected the alien admixture.

The course of the Exile saw the growth of more or less isolated centres of Jewish culture: in the East—Babylon, Persia, the Yemen, Syria, and Upper Morocco; in Europe—Spain, Italy, Greece, Germany, Poland and Lithuania. In each case this culture, including music, developed along lines determined by conditions of life and environment. Of these centres, those of Spain and Greece came to an end more than 400 years ago; while of those which still exist, the Syrian has been influenced by the Spanish, and the Polish-Lettish by the German. From Persia branched out the Bocharan and Daghestani Jews and the Aramaic-speaking Jews of Lesser Persia; from

Babylon a branch spread to India; and from the Polish-Lettish centre branches have spread throughout both hemispheres. The isolation of some centres has been all but complete, notably the Yemenite; and the Persian has been touched only in slightest degree by the Babylonian, the Moroccan by the Spanish, and the Italian by the Spanish. These details are important; for if we find the characteristic musical motifs of individual centres, which have never come into contact with others, to be identical, or the basic elements to be akin in essentials, we can conclude that they still preserve the same music which was theirs before the Destruction of the Temple.

We leave out of account the music which arose after the Talmud period, the products of the last eleven hundred years, the music of the *Piyyutim*—the traditional hymns for various festivals; the hazzanite music—the creations of the synagogue precentors for various prayers; the music of secular Jewish folk-songs in Hebrew and other languages—Spanish, Arabic and German; and the Hasidist music, in all of which we find admixture of elements peculiar to the music of the surrounding Gentiles. We are concerned mainly with the musical intonations, inflexions, motifs, in the singing of the Pentateuch.

This is the oldest part of Hebrew music. These intonations, we know, were sung by the aid of the accents added to the text by the *Nakdanim*, the punctuators, of the School of Rabbis at Tiberias—accents which Ben Asher<sup>1</sup> was the first to explain. But these Tiberian accents are only the finished product: they are only an adaptation of the old Greek prosody accents, the Byzantine line and point accents of the 8<sup>th</sup> or 9<sup>th</sup> centuries. The names and shapes of these accents arose out of a much older system, common in the East and in Greece, according to which the leader of the music indicated, by raising or lowering hand or finger, the rise or fall of the voice—the system known as *Cheironomia*<sup>2</sup>. Long before the invention of the shapes of the accents, they were given names, descriptive of the hand or finger movements, though the names varied in different centres; thus we find the names given by Ben Asher different from the names in the Babylonian accentual system, while both differ from the modern nomenclature; and even now there are differences between the names in

<sup>1</sup> *Dikduke T'amim* of Ben Asher: ed. Baer and Strack. Leipzig 1879, pp. 17—27.

<sup>2</sup> Mentioned in *Berach.* 62b: Said R. Nachman bar Yishak . . . the finger of the right hand to show thereby the accents of the Pentateuch.



the Spanish, Italian and German Systems. (Thus *yethibh*—*qadma*; *de hi*—*tifha*; *hirpa*—*rebhia*; *šinnor*—*zarqa*; *shere-seghol*—*segholta*; *nagda*—*legarme*; *shofar*—*munah*, *qadma*—*pashṭa* etc.)

The writer considers that the introduction of the accents into the Bible was a gradual process extending over some centuries. Originally there were only three accents: *qadma*, *athnah* and *sof-pasuk*, marking the beginning, middle and end of the verse. The same three we find among other ancient peoples: *udata*, *svarita* and *anudata* among the Hindus; *acute*, *circumflex* and *grave* among the Greeks, and *shesht*, *kurr* and *butu* among the Armenians. Among them all the shapes are identical ' ^ ' 1.

Already in the first century of the Christian era the Greeks began to feel the need of reading-signs and musical indications. The result was a system of ten accents: three with a musical significance—*tonoi*, viz. *oxeia* acute, *bareia* grave, *perispōmene* circumflex; two with a time value—*chronoi*, viz. *makra* long, *bracheia* short; two with dynamic value, the *pneumata*, viz. *daseia* spiritus asper and *psile* spiritus lenis; and three, the *pathe* with conjunctive or disjunctive value, *apostrophos*, *hyphen*, and *hypodiastole*. These, on examination, will be found to correspond to the Hebrew accents, not only in their musical, tonal significance, but also in their dynamic and their temporal value. The Greek accents were added to in the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> centuries, and improved by the Byzantines in the 8<sup>th</sup> century. Then, or soon afterwards, arose the existing system of accentuation of the Hebrew text of the Bible. The Jewish scholars in their anxiety to preserve the correct reading and interpretation of the Bible made use of this Greek system as the best which existed, and most suited to their purpose.

<sup>1</sup> These three accents seem to be referred to in the *Tract Sofrim*, section 13, where it says: "But in the Song of David which is in Samuel and in the Psalms, the careful writer arranged the verses with keys, with *athnah* and *sof pasuk*." There is a variant reading "with keys, *letters* and *sof*." A reason can be given for this variant: in the Babylonian system of accentuation which preceded the Tiberian, they had the accents *qadma* and *athnah*, found in the Tiberian system; but for the others, they used the first letter of the name of the accent, *taw* for *tebhiv*, *yod* for *yethibh* etc. (Similarly we find letters to mark the accents among the Armenians in the 6<sup>th</sup> century.) Hence the variant *letters* in the *Tract Sofrim*; for that was the system in Babylon, whereas in Palestine they used signs. On the Babylonian Punctuation, see P. Kahle, *Die Massoreten des Ostens*. Leipzig 1913, pp. 171 ff.



The accompanying table shows us the relation of the Hebrew accents to the earlier systems.—(Illustration 1.)

The Talmud (*Meg.* 32a) says: "The reader without the tune, and the singer without the melody—of him Scripture says: Even I, I have given them statutes which are not good." According to Rashi "tune" and "melody" refer to the accents of Scripture. And commenting on "melody" the *Tosaphoth* say: "They were accustomed to repeat the Mishna to a tune when they recited it by heart, thus helping the memory." R. Shim'on Duran (*Magen Aboth* 55b) reports that the Mishna was pointed with these musical accents; and even the Talmud we learn (*Dikduke Sofrim* 11, xix) had its accents. We must conclude from this that a well-known tune was learnt by heart from tradition for the reading of the Bible and also for the memorising of the Mishna. This tradition could be passed on from mouth to mouth so long as the cultural centre remained in Palestine. But severe legislation destroyed this centre and threatened the tradition. Consequently arose the necessity for inserting accents to assist in remembering the tunes proper to the Scriptures. Like the accents of the Greeks they served to indicate the group of notes, the inflection, the vocal movement, the rise and fall by definite intervals.

The early grammarians, R. Hayyug,<sup>1</sup> R. Yehuda b. Bil'am<sup>2</sup> and the *Horayat ha-Qore*<sup>3</sup> divided the accents into three species according to their respective functions, broadly corresponding with the Greek division; the division according to R. Hayyug is *yedi'a*, *ha'amada* and *'illui*; according to R. Ben Bil'am *yarim ha-qol*, *munaḥ ha-qol* and *'illui ha-qol*; and according to the *Horayat ha-Qore gobah*, *shehiya* and *rum*.

(a) In the *yedi'a*, *yarim* or *gobah* category, they placed the accents *pazer*, *teres* and *telisha*; their purpose is to stress the voice—i. e. they are dynamic rather than musical; and actually their intonation is little more than an emphasis. The Babylonians represented all three by one mark only, the letter *tet* for *teres*, while the Tiberians differentiated their particular nuances. This species corresponds to the

<sup>1</sup> *Grammar*, ed. J. W. Nutt, London and Berlin 1870, p. 129.

<sup>2</sup> *Rules of Accents*, Rodelheim 1826.

<sup>3</sup> Ed. Derenbourg, Paris 1870.

*pneumata* of the Greeks. The "double accents" may be placed in the same category, since these early grammarians made no distinction between double and simple (e. g. *zaqef* was either *gadol* or *kaṭon*, and so also with *telisha*, *tren qadmen*, *ṭarsen*, *merken* and *pazer*.<sup>1</sup>

(b) In the *ha'amada*, *munah* or *shehiya* category, they placed *yethibh*, *zaqef*, and *athnah*. *Shehiya* they explained as that "which is neither above nor below but stationary", meaning that the voice neither rose nor fell, but simply marked time: i. e. it corresponds to the Greek *chronoi*.

(c) In the 'illui, or *rum* category, they placed *zarga*, *legarme*, *rebhia*, *tebhira*, *ṭifḥa* and *silluq*. These were held to have a musical significance, and so correspond to the Greek *tonoi*.

Furthermore, there are, in the nature of accents, *sof pasuq*, *inverted nun*, and *poseq*, which have the force of disjunctives. The Talmud (*Shab.* 116a) explains *inverted nun* as "a sign signifying a section that stands by itself." The symbol for *sof pasuq* exists already in some of the old systems of writing as a dividing sign;<sup>2</sup> while *poseq* is used to separate two similar words, e. g. "Abraham: Abraham", and the like. Thus they correspond with the Greek *pathe* accents.

The Babylonians also possessed these twelve accents which are divided into these three categories, and styled them *mafsiqim* or separators. Instead of letters, the Tiberian scholars employed signs. Apart from these, the Tiberians added the eight "helpers" which accompany the disjunctives; but these have no set vocal inflections.

From all this it will be seen that the Bible accents agree with the Greek system of division in general, though not in detail. For example, *athnah* is reckoned as one of the *chronoi*, whereas the *circumflex* is one of the *tonoi*; and so with others. The reason is, apparently, that the Jewish scholars had to adjust the borrowed Greek accents to the popularly accepted Hebrew musical system. Apart from this it is clear that not all the accents have a true musical significance, and so do not all carry with them special inflexional motifs. This is seen when we consider these inflexions.

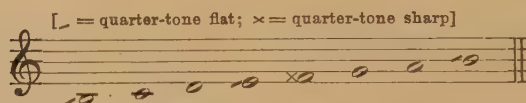
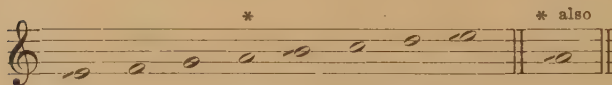
The music of the Pentateuch is made up of certain special motifs, found among all the centres and sections of the nation mentioned

<sup>1</sup> On *Pazer gadol* and *kaṭon* and the difference between them, see R. Hayyug, p. 128.

<sup>2</sup> In the Babylonian punctuation the *inverted nun* is used to mark the end or the beginning of a verse; see Kahle, *op. cit.* in the MS facsimilia.

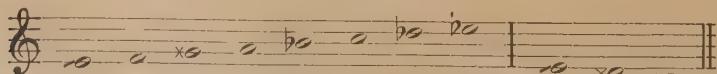


above. Among some of them, the motifs are preserved in their eastern purity—as in Baghdad, Syria (Damascus etc.) Morocco, Italy, and among the European Portuguese. Elsewhere they have been modified owing to external influence—as among the Spanish and German Jews. The scale of the Pentateuch music is the Arabic *Makām 'Irāk* or its derivative *Siga*, or the third Greek mode, the Phrygian, namely; MI-FA-SOL-LA-SI-DO, without completing the octave but descending from the lower tonic: MI-RE-DO. The tonic apparently is MI. The second note of the scale is sometimes raised a quarter of a tone if the inflexion rises to the note above; and the fifth of the scale is lowered a quarter of a tone. These distinctions

Illustration 2. *Maqām Irāq*Illustration 3. *Siga*

are lost in the European centres, semi tones taking the place of quarter-tones, as among the Portuguese of France and Amsterdam and the Ashkenazim. It so happens that the tonic is the third of the Ionic mode, which corresponds to the European major. This has induced the Ashkenazim in course of time to regard the 6<sup>th</sup> of the scale, or the third below the tonic, as the true tonic, owing to the influence of the major scale, and because there is no Phrygian mode in the popular secular music of Europe; and so they finish off the inflection on the third below the tonic, as though the music were in a true major.

The Sephardim also modified the scale through the influence of the Arabs in Spain, and seem to have adopted the *makām* now called

Illustration 4. *Kurdī*

*kurdi*, a derivative of the *Irak* or *Siga*. This was widespread in Spain till the end of the Spanish Caliphate, and it has left a permanent impress on the music of the Pentateuch. The scale is: MI-FA-SOL (quarter-tone sharp) -LA-SI (semitone flat) -DO-RE (semi-tone flat); and descending: RE (quarter-tone sharp) -DO (quarter-tone sharp). The Sephardim use this scale for the Pentateuch in Egypt and Syria as well as in the Balkans, though using the correct scale for the Ten Commandments. The Yemenites are untouched by this influence: they read the Pentateuch with the inflexions proper to the Prophetical Books.

It is a curious fact that the Ashkenazim have transferred the Pentateuch music to the Song of Songs, in which they preserve it in a purer form than in the Pentateuch—a phenomena found in no other centre. Only by combining the Ashkenazi music of the Pentateuch with that of the Song of Songs can we restore the true music of the Pentateuch as it survives among the other centres. The reason for this exceptional use is not yet known to the writer.

It has already been explained that each accent signifies a group of notes, an inflexion or motif, made up of risings and fallings of the voice; this is not exactly uniform throughout all the centres, except in the ending, which constitutes the groundwork of the inflexion.

*Silluq*, *athnah*, *seghol*, *zaqef qaton*, *yethibh* or *pashta* have the same motif, made up of two or three notes of the scale, rising or falling a third to the tonic.

*Rebhi'a*, *tebhir*, *geresh*, and *garshen* have different motifs of a group of notes, undulating, and also ending on the tonic; *telisha* has an undulating motif ending on the third below the tonic; *pazer* and *shal-sheleth* have the same motif, ascending with undulations to the fourth of the scale; *qadma* has a simple motif, leaping the interval of the tonic to the fourth; and *zarga* has an undulating motif ending on the second below the tonic.

The first of these groups of accents, *athnah*, *zaqef*, etc., R. Hayyug's "*ha'amada*" category, corresponding with the Greek *chronoi*, which deal only with length or pause—we saw that these have a single motif between them of a final, cadential character. What then is the difference between them? In course of time the feeling of their different nuances must have disappeared. Even *silluq* and *seghol* have the same motif as the *ha'amada*, though *seghol* was not regarded as a special accent.

Of the *Illui* class, corresponding to the Greek *tonoi*.—*zarqa*, *le-garme*, *rebhi'a*, *tebhir* and *tifha* have special motifs; while in practice *silluq* is included among the *ha'amada*.

The *yedi'a* class, the *pneumata* of the Greeks, are indeed characterised by motifs of a more undulating and stressed nature.

From the point of view of modern music there is no room for the distinctions drawn by the ancient grammarians; for except for the disjunctives like *poseq*,<sup>1</sup> *inverted nun*, and *sof pasuq*, all the accents are musical, *tonoi*. But according to the musical ideas of 1200 years ago, the various divisions held good.

RUTH and KOHELETH: The music of these two books is the same, and a branch of the music of the Pentateuch, being founded on the same scale and having a portion of its motifs; but only a portion, for it lacks certain of the «dynamic» accents. Thus *shatsheleth* is not included at all; *pazer* is found only once in Ruth (1 2) and *zarka* twice (4 1, 4). In Qoheleth *pazer* is found five times only, (5 18; 6 2; 8 10, 11; 9 12), and *zarqa* only twice (8 14, 17). Owing to the lack of these dynamic, more «dramatic» accents, the music of these two books assumes a more lyrical character. With the Ashkenazi and Lettish Jews it is nearer the music of the Pentateuch, since it is taken from the music of the Song of Songs. In the other centres there are changes in the accent motifs of the *Ha amada* category, since they close on the tonic by a downward inflection. Even in the music of the Pentateuch, in an Ashkenazi use, the *tebhir* motif has been transferred to *garshayim*; and in a Moroccan use that of *zarqa* to *telisha qatana*: and in an Ashkenazi use, in the music of the Song of Moses, the motif of *rebhi'a* to that of *tifha*, before *sof-pasuq*; and the like. Similar transferences are found in the music of Ruth and Koheleth: *qadma* and *azla* to *rebhi'a* and *telisha qatana* in Ashkenazi uses. Again, in the Ashkenazi use the inflexion of *pazer* and *telisha* is higher by a tone than in other centres.

The outward form of this music is that of recitative, but there is a difference. It has an internal metre, but logical rather than temporal, arising out of the collocation of the various motifs; it is melodious by reason of the recurrence and variation of the motifs, which lend it the character of music proper. In shorter verses only the simpler inflexions mentioned above occur—*pashta*, *athnah*, *zaqef qaton*, *tifha* and *silluq*—and these form the musical basis. In longer verses are added the *tonoi* accents—*rebhi'a*, *geresh*, *zarqa*, *tebhir* and *telisha*. The dynamic accents, the «stirrers» of Ben Asher, are of rare occurrence—only when there is need of unusual stress; as already explained

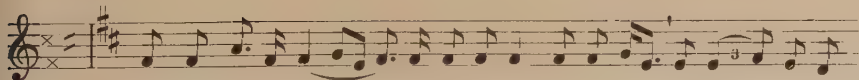
<sup>1</sup> In the eastern centres the *poseq* marks a definite break in the flow of the melody; but in the west the knowledge of *poseq* as a disjunctive is lost: it serves as a dynamic, a vocal stress.

they have no special motifs, employing that of *geresh* with more pronounced undulations.

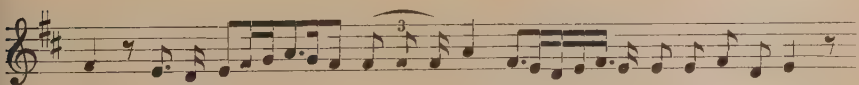
In conclusion it may be said that the music of the Pentateuch is a true national Hebrew music. It is found among no other people, and it may well be older than the destruction of the Second Temple. Such time as the cultural centre of Israel was in Palestine, this music spread throughout the world wherever a Jewish centre was founded. We do not find it in the music of the Arabs, or of the Jacobite or Nestorian Christians. In spite of its age it has a power and nobility, a freshness and elasticity, which have roused and still rouse the soul of the Jew in the bitter days of his Exile. It has afforded comfort to the suppressed soul of the afflicted Jew and at the same time given him a spiritual joy on every Sabbath and Festival. It has been an echo from the country of his birth—and from his glorious past. That it is to be found in every centre, preserved in affection and sanctity, without need of compulsion or supervision, without special ordinance (as in the case of Gregorian music), is a manifest sign that this music comes not from without, but issues from the inmost feelings of the Hebrew people, an expression of the soul of the nation.

## SYRIAN

Exod. 12, 21—22




Waj-jiq-ra mo - šeq lē-ḥəl ziq-ne jis-ra-el waj-jo-mer ă-le-



hem, mi-šeq - ḥu uq-ḥu la-ḥem son lē-miš-pē-ḥo-te-ḥem








wě-əl šě-te ham-mě-zu-zot min had-dam ă-šer bas-saf wě-at-tem  
lo te-sě - u iš mip-pe-taḥ be-to 'ad bo - ger.

## SONG OF SOLOMON

I 1—4

Ashkenazie Rite in Lithuania



Šir haš-ši - rim ă-šer liš-lo - mo. jiš-ša-qe-ni min-ši - qot  
pi - hu pi to-bim do-de-ḥa mij-ja-jiu. lě-re-aḥ šě-ma-ne-ḥa to-  
bim še-men tu-raḡ šě-me-ḥa 'al ken 'ă-la-mot ă-he-bu-ḥa.  
moš-ḥe-ni a - ḥă-re-ḥa na - ru - ša ḥě-bi-a-ni ham-mě-leḥ  
ḥă-da - raw na - gi - la wě - nis-mě-ḥa baḡ naz-ki-ra do-  
de - ḥa mij - ja - jin me - ša - rim a - he - bu - ḥa.

Comparative table of accent motifs employed at the different centres in the intoning of the Pentateuch:—

1. Persan	
2. Babylonian	
3. Syrian	
4. Moroccain	
5. Egyptian	
6. Sefardim	
7. European Sefardim	
8. Ashkena- zim	

paš'a ~ (in the Song of Solomon)

1.	
2.	
3.	
4.	

5.

1. *atnah* *teliša gëdola* *sof pasuq*

2.

3.

4.

5.

6.

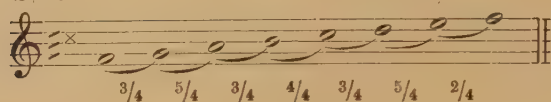
7.

8.



## SEPHARDIM

Scale



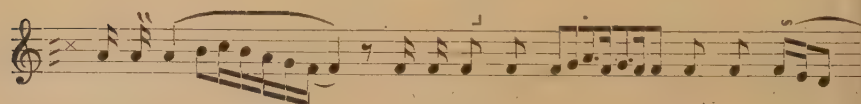
Waj-jiq-ra mo - šę lę-hol ziq-ne jis-ra - el



waj-jo-męř ä-le-hęm, miř - hu uq-hu la-hęm řon



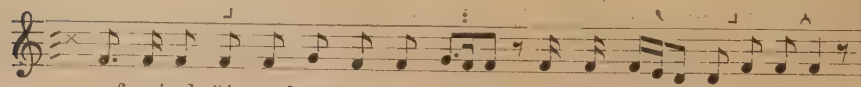
— lę-miř-pę-ho-te-hęm wę-řa-hă-tu hap-pa-sah



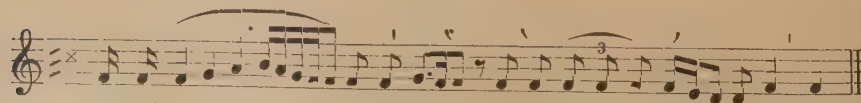
ul-qah - tęm ä-gud-dat e - zob uř-bal-tęm



— bad-dam ä-řę bas-saf, wę-hig-ga - tęm el ham-mař-



qof wę-el řę-te ham-mę-zu - zot min had-dam ä-řę bas-saf



wę-at - tęm lo teř-u iř mip-pe-tah be-to 'ad bo-qęř.

## OBSERVATIONS ON A MEGALITHIC BUILDING AT BET SAWIR (PALESTINE)

E. J. H. MACKAY  
(HAIFA)

THE first mention of this building occurs in the *Survey of Western Palestine, P. E. F.*,<sup>1</sup> where it is described as the ruin of an ancient tower, 22 paces square, built of roughly squared slabs of stone, of which some three or four courses remained, but with no traces of mortar. On the south side was a large cistern, partly closed by a slab like those of the tower.<sup>2</sup> This is the description of the building as it appeared in October, 1874.

The Rev. J. E. Hanauer and Dr. E. W. Gurney Masterman<sup>3</sup> at a much later date published a brief note of this interesting building with a photograph, mentioning that the walls formed two sides of a square measuring 14×14 metres outside and 12.50×12.50 metres inside, and that the orientation of the building was exactly to the points of the compass. In the opinion of Messrs. Hanauer and Masterman, the two walls they were able to trace at one time supported an earth platform which was eventually intentionally thrown down.

In April, 1919, Dr. Paterson of Hebron reported to the Military Administration of O. E. T. A. (S) that some of the blocks had been destroyed for road-metal and was successful in saving what remained of the building.

### SITUATION

The ruins which occupy but a small space of ground are locally known as Khurbet Bet Sawir<sup>4</sup> and are situated on the western side

<sup>1</sup> Vol. 111, page 351. Map ref., XXI. L. V.

<sup>2</sup> No longer to be seen.

<sup>3</sup> *P. E. F. Quarterly Statement* (1901); page 305.

<sup>4</sup> "Ruins of the House of Sawir." The name "Sawir" appears not to be of Arab origin.

of the Jerusalem-Hebron road, about 250—300 paces from the road itself and slightly to the north of the newly constructed reservoir, called Birket el Arrub. They can easily be seen from the road after one has become acquainted with their appearance.

### MASONRY

These ruins are especially noteworthy on account of the very large size of the blocks of limestone used in the construction of the

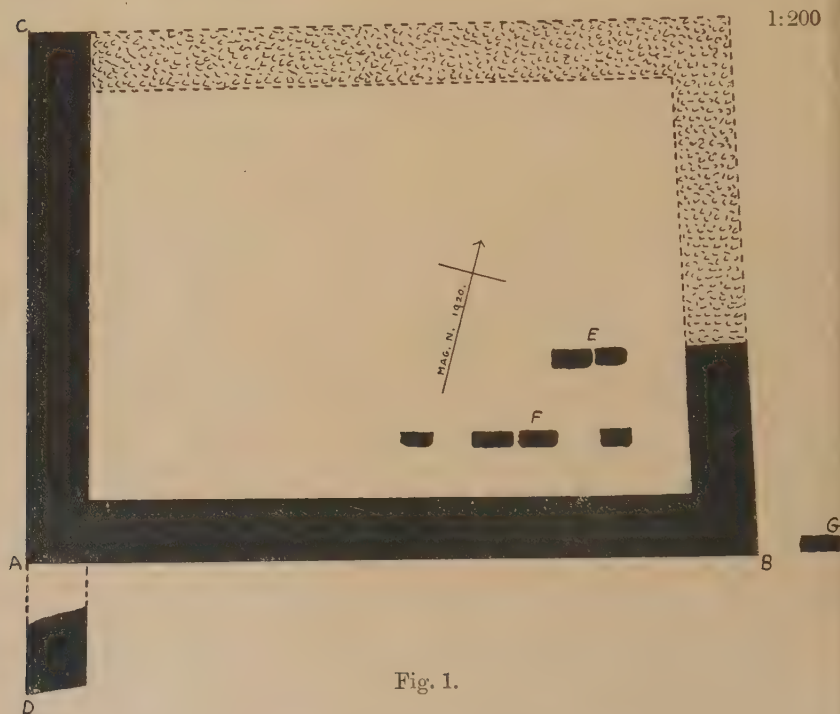


Fig. 1.

building. Four loose stones not especially selected for their size measure as follows:—

2.50	metres	long	by	1.80	metres	wide	by	40	centimetres	thick		
2.30	"	"	"	1.61	"	"	"	40	"	"	"	"
2.25	"	"	"	1.20	"	"	"	40	"	"	"	"
2.00	"	"	"	1.65	"	"	"	41	"	"	"	"

The agreement in thickness of these measured blocks is easily explained as the natural thickness of the stratum of rock from which

the blocks were quarried. The quarry, an open one, may be seen a little way north-east of the building, but its ancient character has been somewhat destroyed by its being re-used in recent times.

The blocks all show signs of having been roughly trimmed, but they are so badly weathered that all tool marks have been obliterated, if they ever existed.

The blocks are also full of holes which appear to have been bored by gastropod molluscs after the blocks were quarried.



Fig. 2. S. E. corner looking N. E.

No mortar was used to hold the masonry together and the courses are on the whole very regular. All the blocks were laid flat on one another, each one extending the entire width of the wall. The slab which measures 1.80 metres in width, being wider than any of the walls, may possibly have been a roofing stone.

The plan<sup>1</sup> shows the little that can be now made out without the use of the spade. It is important to note that the building is not correctly orientated, the compass bearing along the wall A to B

<sup>1</sup> Fig. 1.



being 75 east of north. For the purpose, however, of this brief description we will assume that the building is correctly orientated east and west.

The walls rest on a natural stone platform which dips slightly from NW. to SE., the dip being roughly about 10. This platform which extends for a certain distance outside the walls, is bare in places, but the portion enclosed by the walls of the building is covered by earth to a depth which can only be ascertained by digging. It



Fig. 3. SW. false corner D locking NE.

is probable that a rock floor was originally levelled inside the building.

The south wall is fairly well preserved, especially the two corners A and B. At present it stands in parts some two courses above earth level. The thickness of this wall was difficult to ascertain with accuracy owing to its being encumbered with large loose blocks, but there are indications in several places that its thickness was the same as that of the two remaining walls, namely 1.50 to 1.60 metres.

The south-east wall at B now stands 88 centimetres from the earth level and there are three courses visible, of which the lower one is

entirely buried. As in the time of Hanauer's and Masterman's visit, only the slightest indications remain of the eastern wall, the portion it is still possible to measure being 5.55 metres long. The width, namely 1.60 metres, was measured at the corner where it was possible to do so with some fair degree of accuracy.<sup>1</sup>

The south-west corner A is now two courses high and is 60 cms. above ground level, but the stones of the lower course are practically buried.



Fig. 4. South Side of building looking N. E.

The north-west corner C is very difficult to fix, but the writer considers a large stone which appears just above the ground to be a corner stone. The western wall as measured from A to C is 12.85 metres long and 1.50 metres broad, but it has now practically disappeared at its northern end whereas at the time of the Rev. J. E. Hanauer's visit it stood in places six courses high.<sup>2</sup> The stones which formed this side are not even lying about, but small limestone fragments in the close vicinity indicate what has become of them.

<sup>1</sup> See Fig. 2.

<sup>2</sup> See illustration in *Quarterly Statement*.

Though diligently searched for, no trace of a northern wall is to be seen, as was also the case at the time of Hanauer's and Masterman's visit. The brief note in the *Survey of Western Palestine* mentions the remains of the building, but says nothing of any particular wall.

Outside the south-west corner at D there are three large blocks superimposed which appear to have formed part of the original building. Of these, the uppermost has certainly been slightly shifted, but the two courses beneath are in an exact line with the western wall. It is hardly possible that two or more masonry blocks unsecured by mortar should accidentally fall into such a position, but their presence outside the walls is difficult to explain unless they once formed part of an outbuilding of some kind. The height of this group of stones from earth level is 1.35 metres.<sup>1</sup>

Inside the present three walls of the building there are certain stones which may have had some connexion with the structure itself. On the plan they are marked as E and F. These stones appear to be placed on edge, *i. e.* are orthostatic, and each group forms a practically straight line. They all measure 40 centimetres in thickness, though they are otherwise not so large as the stones of the building itself. Another suggestive group of stones is to be seen outside the east wall at the south-east corner and is marked in the plan as G.

### NATURE OF BUILDING

The suggestion in the *Quarterly Statement* that the ruins of Bet Sawir are the remains of retaining walls to form an earth platform is, the writer thinks, improbable. It is true that the northern wall cannot be traced, but the stones may have been taken from this portion at an early date. If the western wall which stood some six courses high in 1901 is now reduced to two courses in 1920 without leaving any trace in the way of limestone chips, the total disappearance of a wall in a long period of time is easily comprehensible. The number of blocks, moreover, outside the southern wall, some 70 or 80 in all, would if in position, bring the southern wall to a height far above the level of the northern part of the structure.

<sup>1</sup> To be seen also on left hand side of illustration of south side of building facing N. E. See Fig. 4.

The writer would prefer, therefore, to explain the building as either the remains of a watch-tower or, preferably, a house which at an early period was purposely thrown down.<sup>1</sup> A fort would hardly have been placed in the position this ruin occupies, namely, on a gentle slope commanded by the rise of the hill above it and also at some distance from the ancient road which ran along the edge of the valley.

## PERIOD

No period can be ascribed to this building with any certainty until it has been excavated. There is no pottery to be seen on the surface of the ground and our only guides are the nature of the masonry and the style of the building. As far as has been ascertained, there is no other structure in Palestine with similar masonry. In Trans-Jordania, however, there are several megalithic buildings in the close vicinity of Amman which are rectangular and built of large flat slabs of local stone. These rectangular megalithic buildings belong to the later megalithic civilization and the ruins at Bet Sawir are probably, therefore, of that period.<sup>2</sup>

The megalithic buildings at Amman, both round and rectangular, have a number of cellae within their enclosures constructed of stones set on edge. In the Bet Sawir building the existence of such cellae cannot be proved without excavation, but the groups of stones marked E and F in the plan may possibly be remains of cells, especially as they appear to be orthostatic. It is even possible that the large number of slabs outside the southern wall once belonged to additional cellae. If these cellae had splayed roofs on the principal of the false arch, as is the case in some of the megalithic residences

<sup>1</sup> That the stones of this building were purposely overthrown is proved, in the writer's opinion, by the position of the numerous blocks outside the southern wall. These are now lying one beyond the other at an angle of about 40 degrees and more or less buried in soil. As aptly described by the Rev. J. E. Hanauer, they resemble the broken ends of a series of limestone strata. Slabs of stone of the size found in these ruins could hardly from their nature have fallen otherwise than by human agency.

<sup>2</sup> See *Megalithic Buildings at Amman* by Duncan Mackenzie; *Palestine Exploration Fund Annual*, 1911. Also *P. E. F. Quarterly Statement*, 1901, p. 407, where Dr. Gray Hill in a brief letter compares the Bet Sawir structure with similar structures at El Bukeia and between Umm Shettah and Er Reuthah.





at Rujm el Melfuf, this would account for the curious positions in which the stones now lie. The cistern that was seen by the Rev. J. E. Hanauer on the occasion of his visit may, therefore, once have been inside a portion of the building. Moreover, the position of the wall D, that apparently projects from the SW. corner, perhaps bears out this theory; it may have formed part of another enclosure.

The absence of mortar and the peculiarly large thin blocks point to a very early period (certainly pre-Jewish). The fact that the blocks are on the whole well shaped testifies to the builders possessing a certain degree of skill in masonry work, as does also the comparative accuracy of the SE. and SW. corners of the building.<sup>1</sup>

In conclusion, the writer would urge the necessity of the proper excavation of this site. It would entail little labour or expense as the ground to be cleared is not a large area. If the building should subsequently prove, as appears probable, to be of very early origin, it will be a welcome addition to the early monuments of Palestine, which are all too rare.

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<sup>1</sup> Each of the corners is two degrees less than a right angle.

## BLOOD REVENGE AMONG THE ARABS

E. N. HADDAD

(JERUSALEM)

A case of murder took place in the district of Hebron some years ago, and attracted great attention. In spite of the strictness of the Turkish law, and the severity of the sentence which was passed, the clan of the murderer remained subject to the custom of blood-revenge, until the murderer at last gave the required satisfaction. One of the intermediaries, who brought about the reconciliation between the two parties, was the mayor and former Muhtâr of Bêt Jâlâ, Jiryis Abû Dayi by name, from whom most of the material presented in this article comes. The specifically Bedouin part I received from the Muhtâr of Bêt Iksâ Jubrîn, who lived long in Mâdebâ, and is intimately versed in the customs and usages of the Bedouin. Since Palestine has become a British mandate, and my home-land the Lebanon, as well as Syria, has passed under French control, many of the native customs will disappear before the advance of European culture. The custom of blood-revenge will, if not entirely, at least in large part, vanish in the near future. In spite of the difficulties connected with the collection of such material, I have spared no pains to make it accessible to scholars who are interested in this field. The material has not been altered or embellished in the least detail, but is given just as heard from the lips of my informants; the investigator may rely implicitly upon the accuracy of the translation presented herewith.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> I wish here to express my thanks to Dr. W. F. Albright, Director of the American School of Oriental Research, who showed great interest in my work and was always ready to help me with it.

## 1. MURDER AND PEACE

When it happens that a person is murdered, his relatives come together and say at his tomb: "You must sleep, but we must take revenge for you on the enemy; your bed is silken—sleep and fear not."<sup>1</sup> After this they attack the clan of the murderer and steal all the property they can, such as domestic animals, money, furniture, etc. These things remain their own after the reconciliation and their value is not deducted from the sum to be paid. It is strictly forbidden to injure the women's honour.<sup>2</sup>

Three and a third days the relatives of the murdered man have the right to continue robbing. But as soon as they kill one of their enemies they lose all their rights.

During this time both parties are in a state of war and therefore the murderer's relatives flee away. If they immediately ask for an armistice,<sup>3</sup> then it is entirely forbidden to rob, because the enemies are then under the protection of an honourable man<sup>4</sup> of a neutral clan. If the injured party assassinates one of its enemies during the armistice it loses all its rights to compensation and at the same time it is regarded by the relatives of the protector as hostile, since this is a great shame for them, as they are responsible. Such an action is considered worse than murder or bloodshed itself. Therefore the relatives of the murdered man are now in a very critical situation, because they are considered as real enemies of both the protector and the protected. If one of the relatives of the murdered man should kill any one of his enemies during the armistice, they dip a rag in the blood of the murdered person and smear it with soot from a pot and hoist it in front of the protector's house. From this moment all the party of the protector goes over to the party of the first murderer, for the others have not kept their word. During the armistice both parties associate freely with each other.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "انت عليك النوم ونحن علينا القوم وفراشك حربي نام ولا تخف"

<sup>2</sup> عرض.

<sup>3</sup> هدنة; in modern Arabic عطوى.

<sup>4</sup> وجه. Volume II, page 2, 225 s.v. مكيط المكيط — صاروا في وجه وجهه  
يقال هم وجوه القوم اى ساداتهم واعيانهم — الوجه سيد القوم — ج وجوه

<sup>5</sup> يصيرون اهل القنيل والغرماء يردوا على بير ويكملوا على بير is a proverb which means: The relatives of both parties associate freely with each other.

If the reconciliation does not take effect, the enemies renew their robbing after the three and a third days are over. The property stolen during this time is deducted from the reconciliation money but the value of the goods is estimated at only half of the real amount.

## 2. THE ARMISTICE<sup>1</sup>

If no treachery takes place during the armistice both parties live in security. If the matter is not settled before the armistice is over and the armistice is not renewed, hostility is resumed between the parties. But if they renew the armistice punctually the danger is at an end.

Peace can not follow directly after hostility. First must come the armistice, since it would be the greatest dishonour for the family of the victim to accept the reconciliation money directly. If they accept it at once, they are then despised by the whole neighbourhood. They may hear the words: "Shame! Are you so greedy that you have eagerly accepted the reconciliation money of your murdered one?"

The ceremony of the armistice is as follows: The pursued party flees. By "pursued" we mean all male persons from the clan of the murderer who are more than twelve years old, because they are exposed to revenge. Aged men, blind men and all males with a defect, as well as scapegraces, are not exposed to revenge. The same is also true of all females. All such persons remain at home, since it is a shame to take revenge on them, and so they have no fear. When the exposed party wishes to conclude an armistice it calls reliable men of a neutral family, either from the same village or from another. The latter must be strictly neutral. When they open negotiations they take with them one to four animals for sacrifice (as a rule sheep) rice and melted butter<sup>2</sup> at the expense of the murderer himself. They take also a hundred mejidis, or more, with them. When they reach the house of the relatives of the murdered person they give them the offerings. They kill the animals immediately and prepare food for all who are present. When the negotiators hand the money over they say the following words: "Gentlemen, we ask you for an armistice and we will try to carry out the usual

<sup>1</sup> اخذ العطوى . <sup>2</sup> سمينة .



customs." Some days before the armistice is over, they renew it but this time the offering is not necessary. They give only money and about 50 mejidis less than the first sum. It is possible to renew the armistice as many as ten times. Every time the sum which the negotiators pay is less than the time before.

### 3. THE NINE OF ASSURANCE<sup>1</sup>

If the clan of the murderer is composed of many families, all these families are exposed to revenge. If they wish to be secured from revenge they have then to pay a so called "nine of assurance." The payment may be before or after the armistice. The families which paid the nine of assurance are not obliged to pay the expenses of the armistice or reconciliation money. The nine of assurance is either 9 Turkish pounds = 900 piastres or 90 mejidis. A family which fulfils this is then quite safe, remaining at home without having to move. Any family may do this and live without danger, but it must not harbor the murderer nor have any dealings with him. If it violates the custom it loses the sum of assurance and is harassed like the enemy himself. The sum of assurance should be handed over by the mediator without an offering. If the enemy should not keep his word, he would be considered by the mediators as a dishonourable man.

### 4. PERFIDY AND DECEPTION<sup>2</sup>

If the clan of the murdered person does not keep its word and breaks the familiar customs of the armistice, killing a man in revenge, it at once loses all its rights and is attacked by the protectors themselves. The person whom they killed is now considered as the equivalent of the first murdered person. All things robbed during

<sup>1</sup> تسعة نوم.

<sup>2</sup> باق الرجل = باق, Vol. I, p. 143 s. v. "perfidy" in محيط المحيط = باق . . . او هجم على قوم بغير اذنهم . . . والقوم غدر بهم وسرقهم . . . باق القوم على فلان اجتمعوا عليه ظلما.

the first three and a third days should be given back, unless the other party has robbed their equivalent. The guarantors themselves begin at once to rob the traitors and even try if possible to kill one of them, since the latter have no right to take revenge for the murdered person, this case not being punishable in the law of the folk. In such a case the traitors send intercessors to negotiate peace. They must offer every thing demanded, and the intercessors say: "Behold, your enemy is in your power and it is for you to decide whether to free him or not." Then those who broke their word kneel down bareheaded in the midst of the circle formed by those present. Each turban must be unfolded and wound around the neck while the fez is held on the breast. To be bareheaded means to surrender. While they are kneeling down they ought to remain quite silent and are not allowed even to salute. If the guarantor has inclination to forgive them he rises and says to one of his men: "Rise and shave their heads, because I have forgiven them."<sup>1</sup>

During this interval some animals (sheep or goats) should be killed and a repast prepared with their flesh. After this they are allowed to cover their heads.

If he does not wish to forgive them he demands, for instance, 100 horses, 500 camels and 1000 sheep. He is not allowed to ask for money. Those who are present implore him to say how much may be deducted for the sake of God and the prophet (Mohammed). He then says: "I deduct 10 horses, 100 camels and 100 sheep." They ask him again: "How much can you deduct for the sake of Sheikh X," etc. etc., and at last they ask: "What will you deduct for your bareheaded and barefoot enemies: They ask for mercy. It is now in your power to forgive and to be merciful or not. This is a habit of nobles and you are well-known as one of the most famous nobles. But these are people who trespass and you are the man who forgives." Should he deduct more now, it is due to his humanity, but they must in any case pay the remainder. If they have nothing ready they must bring guarantors.

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<sup>1</sup> Shaving the head is considered a great disgrace, when it is inflicted as a punishment. The same is also true of the beard. One or both are shaved as punishment in the case of a crime affecting a woman's honour.

## 5. RECONCILIATION

If both parties after the termination of the armistice are ready to be reconciled, the enemies have to bring 15—20 sheep and goats or perhaps more, and rice, coffee, sugar, salt, and all the necessary utensils for cooking. As soon as they appear one of the victim's family has to go out and meet them, and lead them in to the house of the victim, where the meeting is to be held. He has the right to ask two pounds and a cloak for his protection. They go now with the guarantors and other nobles of the village into the house of the victim or into the guest-house of the family. One of the relatives of the victim examines the animals, which must be without defect. Animals which have defects must be changed. He begins then to kill the animals or he orders another to kill them. But he must in every case kill the first one. His part in killing is a sign that he is satisfied with the reconciliation. The enemies must do the whole work. After the meal, the relatives of the victim ask that the murderer or one of the most respected sheikhs shall come.

The negotiators tell him: "Stand up and sit down in the midst of the gathering." He follows their order, holding a long stick in his hand. This stick must be half again as long as a man. They bring five metres or more of white gauze. The nearest relative of the murdered man takes hold of the cloth and begins to roll the gauze round the stick, making knots at intervals. Every knot means 1000 piastres. When he is through, the negotiators ask him how much he deducts for the sake of God. He unties two or more knots according to his generosity. After this they ask for the sake of the prophet, Christ etc. and at last they ask for the sake of the negotiators, who should be honoured with a knot or more. It depends much upon his generosity whether he unties fewer or more knots. Lastly they ask him how much will he deduct for the sake of his enemies. He answers: "They are welcome, and I am ready to untie for them two knots more." Now they count the remaining knots. The man who had untied the knots invites them to eat. They answer: "No, by your life, we will not eat till you set our minds at rest. You know that a man like this one (the murderer) commits a trespass, but a man like you forgives, since forgiveness is a virtue of nobles. X has died—may God have mercy on him; it is a matter of fact that

living person is worth more than a dead one, and nothing is sweeter than sweetmeats except peace after hostility. You are very celebrated for your generous deeds.<sup>1</sup> After reconciliation the required sum should be paid in instalments. The sum may be 150—300 pounds or more. The legal ransom is 33,333 piastres and 33 paras.

## *MURDER BY AN UNKNOWN PERSON<sup>2</sup>*

If it should happen that some one has been killed without the murderer being known, the relatives of the murdered man send messages to the men whom they suspect to be guilty and ask them to appear before court. The court is formed of men who are authorities in customs and murder-cases. After negotiation the time of their meeting together should be fixed. The relatives of the victim choose two persons; the suspected one can choose only a single person. One of these three persons is made the judge. Accordingly the accused and the accuser choose one out of the three to be the judge. If they are not pleased with his decision they appeal to the second person; if they are then still unsatisfied they call upon the third one. The decision of the third one must be accepted in any case. Every one of the selected judges receives his wages, which may be as much as he wishes and is not less than 100 mejidis. As soon as the accused person appears before the first judge, he is given a horse's bit, which means that the horse is made the pledge, or a gun as a sign that the owner of the gun is the pledge. After both the accused and the accuser have been heard in court the judge must repeat to them their statements during the trial. Many persons should be present to witness the process and confirm the decision. After this the judge asks for guarantors to be made responsible for the payment of his wages. As soon as they are selected he gives back the pledges. He then commences his work and says: "O

<sup>1</sup> Literally, you are the father of X, and brother of your sister. X here refers to the first-born son of the man addressed; if the latter has no children, X is the name of his father, as the first-born is expected to bear his grandfather's name. "You are the brother of your sister" is a proverb, and means "You are good, energetic, and generous man."

<sup>2</sup> قتل مجهول.



auspicious witnesses, be kind and mediate peace between both parties and let them leave this place as friends; I am ready to forego my wages." If after discussion they do not come to a satisfactory result he announces his decision.

## 7. *THE JUST AND FAULTLESS WITNESSES*

It is impossible to find perfectly just witnesses in murder cases since the qualifications of such witnesses must be unattainably high. They must be blameless; they ought never to have desecrated the holy days, never to have laughed like Ham, that is to say, never to have mocked their parents; they must never have been treated unkindly as guests, and must never have been slandered. Since the judge is naturally not able to find such a character, he must search for an honest, fair-dealing, frank man and swear him in.

## 8. *SWEARING TO INNOCENCE OR GUILT*

One must take oath in front of the door of a church or in the niche of a mosque. Besides the man who swears, five other men must confirm the oath. The accuser may select the one to swear from the suspected family, one who must not be removed more than five generations from the family in question. As soon as the one who swears reaches the door of the church or the niche of the mosque, he calls upon the relatives of the murdered man and says: "Come and take your rights." They ask him if he is ready to swear and they ask also where the five persons are who have to confirm the oath. At once the required five appear. Before the oath he asks for a guarantor to protect him from his enemies after he has sworn and been declared guiltless. A guarantor is granted, and if then the rights of the swearer are not preserved, it is considered as perfidy.

If the swearer is declared free, he must pay the acquittal sum, which is 999 piastres. He must swear three times and each time he pays 333 piastres. If he confesses to the commission of the crime, he must pay the ransom. If he is acquitted without swearing, he must pay 999 piastres, and invite all present to a meal.

## 9. THE OATH<sup>1</sup>

If the murder has taken place in a Christian community, the oath is taken in a church, and if in a Moslem community, in a mosque. The literal meaning of the oath is: "By God the Mighty, the Avenger, the Powerful, Creator of day and night, I have not made his children orphans, and I have not cut his skin or made his wife a widow."

## 10. THE BRANDING OR ORDEAL<sup>2</sup>

If a murder or the defloration of a girl should take place without the detection of the culprit, the suspected man and the accusers agree in the presence of honourable men to go to the "licker", and cause the offender to "lick". Each party has to pay 100 mejidis. The wages of the honourable man who accompanies them to the licker is five pounds. His task is to be witness of what he sees while at the licker's. Lickers are very rare. Today there is one in Upper Egypt, another is east of Mâdabâ. The suspected person must lick a red-hot coffee-roaster, given him by the licker. If signs of burning are seen on his lips or tongue he is then considered guilty. The licker says to him: "May God help you to bear your load". If his mouth after licking the roaster is still not burnt, the licker says to him: "You are clean and guiltless". If the accused one is acquitted, the accuser must pay the licker 100 mejidis and give 5 pounds to the accused and *vice versa*. After returning home they begin to negotiate for reconciliation.

## 11. THE MURDER OF A WOMAN

The rights of a woman are exactly the same as those of a man with the exception that the ransom is only half of that of a man. If a man is killed because he has maltreated or has assaulted a woman, the relatives of the murdered man have no right to ask for blood-money, no matter how many of them may be killed by the relatives of the dishonoured woman.

<sup>1</sup> اليمين.

<sup>2</sup> بشع يمشع بشعا وبشاعة Vol. I, p. 96 we read: محيط المحيط in البشعة صار بشعا... البشع... القبيح الصورة... وخشبة بشعة كثيرة الابن اى العقد.

## 12. *THE ATTITUDE OF THE GOVERNMENT TOWARD MURDER*

The Government may interfere and make a fair decision, nevertheless a real reconciliation between the two parties can not take place as long as the customs of the people are not satisfied.

## 13. *PROTECTION OF THE MURDERER BY THE MURDERER'S FAMILY*

The following is still the practice of the Bedu. If the murderer asks for protection from the father or the nearest relatives of the murdered person, as soon as he ties the end of his *keffiyeh* (head-covering) and puts his hand in his belt without being previously observed, and says: "I ask you to protect me," he is at once safe and the protector accompanies him to the boundary of his tribe and tells him: "Escape for your life and know that as soon as I see you again I will kill you."

## THE EDMITE LANGUAGE

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IT has hitherto been assumed that our knowledge of the Edomite language is confined to a few names of persons and places; and though it may be assumed that, like Moabitic, it was closely akin to Hebrew, the discovery of some inscription is necessary to throw further light on the question. The object of this paper is to suggest that we already possess what is at least as good as an inscription—nearly two whole chapters of the Bible written throughout in the Edomite dialect, viz. Proverbs 30 1 to 31 9.

Ch. 31 begins: דכרי למואל מלך משא אשר יסרתו אמו usually translated: *The words of king Lemuel: the oracle, משא, which his mother taught him.* Early writers saw in *Massa* a word which is elsewhere used in the sense of prophetic utterance. But an early Jewish scholar, Malbim, already felt that *Massa* was really the name of a place; and this idea has been revived by modern scholars and now finds a place in the RVmg.: *The words of Lemuel, king of Massa.* This interpretation finds support from Gen. 25 14, which points to the fact that *Massa* was a place occupied by tribes descended from Ishmael: *The sons of Ishmael . . . Mishma and Duma and Massa . . . Tema . . . and Kedema . . . These are the sons of Ishmael and these are their names by their villages and by their encampments.*

Furthermore these chapters are specimens of eastern wisdom; and we know from such passages as Jer. 49 7 (*Is wisdom no more in Teman? Is counsel perished from the prudent? Is their wisdom vanished?*) and Ob. 8 (*Shall I not, in that day, destroy the wise men out of Edom . . . and thy wise men, O Teman, shall be dismayed!*) that Edom had a reputation for wisdom; and it is specially pointed out that the wisdom of Solomon (1 Kings 4 30) exceeded that of the children of the East.



But if these verses of Proverbs are written in a non-Judaean dialect of Hebrew peculiar to the Edomite speech as used in Massa, we shall expect traces of this in vocabulary and perhaps also in syntax. And we do find features which lend support to the hypothesis.

In the first few verses of ch. 31 are several passages which have always proved difficulties to those who would interpret them solely in the light of the Hebrew vocabulary and syntax as we know it from the Hebrew books of the Bible. The second verse runs: *מה ברי ומה בר נדרי* of which our English version is: *What, my son? and what, O son of my womb? and what, O son of my vows?* The first point we notice is that the word for "son" is not the Hebrew word *ben* but *bar*; and this alone marks it out from the rest of biblical Hebrew. The second point is the use of the word *ma* "what?" But the translation "what?" does not give good sense. The context demands some such significance as "Listen!" "Take heed!" Such a meaning of *ma* exists in Arabic.

There is a difficult word in v. 3: *Give not thy strength unto women, nor thy ways to that which destroyeth kings.* But to that which *destroyeth* is a very far-fetched translation of *lamhōth*, and the parallelism is not good. It is better to point it *l'māhōth*, a plural noun meaning "delights," "playthings," "pastimes."

In v. 4 as a parallel to the phrase *לשתות יין* we get *או שכר*. This *ēv* is an unknown word, and the *Q'ri* *אי* "where?" gives no help. We want a verb synonymous with "drink." So perhaps here we have an Edomite word with the meaning "drink up quickly" or the like. Cf. the Arabic *عَبَّ* "to drink up quickly."

In v. 8 we have: *Open thy mouth for the dumb* *אל דין כל בני חלוק* which is, literally, *unto the cause of all those ready to pass away.* This becomes less meaningless, and makes perfect parallelism, if we look away from Hebrew, and regard *אל* not as a preposition but as a verb meaning "hasten," like the Arabic *أَلَّ*; and connect *חלוק* with the Arabic root *حرف*. The verse then reads: *Open thy mouth for the dumb and speed the cause of the unfortunate.*

In the preceding chapter, in the words of *Agur the son of Jakeh the "Massaite,"* occur several strange, or, as the hypothesis would assume, peculiar Edomite words—*הון* in the sense of the Hebrew *די* "enough," (v. 15) and *ורזיר* and *אלקוק* of unknown meaning (v. 31). In v. 9 we have: *Lest I become poor and steal* *ותפשתי* *the name of my God.*

Here תפס seems not to have its usual meaning in Hebrew of "take hold of," but rather "blaspheme," "revile."

In v. 33 the last member of the verse is hastily rejected by modern scholars as a doublet: *The pressing of milk brings forth butter, and the pressing of the nose (אף) brings forth blood, and the pressing of אפים brings forth strife.* In Hebrew אפים means nostrils, and so seems here merely to repeat the preceding clause. It is more suited to the context and the idea contained in the word ריב "strife" if we see in אפים a mispunctuation of an Edomite form of the word for mouth, such, e. g. as *ōfīm*. Compare the Aramaic and Arabic *fūm*.

The following are possible cases of Edomite syntactical peculiarities:

Ch. 30 v. 2 runs: כִּי בָעַר אֲנֹכִי מֵאִישׁ usually translated: *Surely I am more brutish than any man.* But this assumes a construction which does not exist elsewhere. It at once becomes simple if instead of *mē=min*, we see in it the Arabic negative *ma*: *Surely I am a beast, ma 'ish—not a man.*

A more pronounced case occurs in v. 32: אַם נִבְלַת בְּהִתְנַשָּׂא וְאִם זִמּוֹת יָד לִפָּה. If we try to translate it in the customary way: *If thou hast done foolishly in lifting thyself up, and if thou hast thought evil, hand to mouth!*—it lacks the necessary parallelism, and also gives נִבְלַת a rendering which is unsupported. But by regarding ב is בְּהִתְנַשָּׂא as a peculiarity of Edomite syntax with the same function as the Arabic particle *fa*, and the Hebrew *wa* following a conditional clause, the syntax becomes easy and the sense good: *If thou sink down, then raise thyself up: and if thou purpose evil, remain quiet.*

An objection to ascribing these chapters to an Edomite source may be lodged, in that the divine name of Yahweh, the God of the Hebrews, occurs (309). But we have nowhere else any evidence for saying that the Edomites used any other peculiar name for their deity, as, for example, did the Moabites in the case of Chemosh, or the Philistines in the case of Dagon, or the Ammonites in the case of Milcom. Josephus certainly mentions *Koze* as the name of an Edomite deity; but it is nowhere else referred to, and the inference is, that if there were a god of such a name, it was an inferior god, or one of recent adoption.

There is, perhaps, another trace of the Edomite language in that puzzling fragment of Isaiah 21 11—12, "The Burden of Duma", which the writer hopes to deal with another time.

## SOLOMON AND THE SHULAMITE

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IN the early Christian apocryphon called the *Testament of Solomon* there is a collocation of Solomon and the Shulamite which to me is new. As it exhibits an interesting development in the Solomonic legend and seems also to involve a peculiar interpretation of the Song of Solomon, I present it here in the hope that others may be able to contribute some parallel from Arabic, Jewish, or early Christian folklore.

The *Testament of Solomon* may be safely dated in the fourth century of our era. The author is a Christian exorcist who attempts to work up the demonological and magico-medical knowledge of his syncretistic environment into a practical *vade mecum*. His materials go back ultimately to Babylonia, Persia, Egypt, Palestine and the Greek world. The thread upon which these materials are strung is the story of Solomon's use of the demons in building the Temple. The book closes with an account of the great king's ignominious fall.

Though I have sailed but little on the sea of the Talmud and made but inconsequential excursions into the wilderness of Arabic literature, I think I am safe in saying that the fall of Solomon in these literatures is usually ascribed to the great demon prince, Asmodaeus, who gets possession of the magic ring and usurps Solomon's place as a punishment for his presumption in trying to pry too far into the secrets of the universe. On the contrary, in Christian literature, his fall is usually ascribed to "woman-mania," *θηλυμανία*, which leads to his building idol temples or to idol worship, and so to his loss of the divine favour and his God-given power and knowledge. In this the *Testament of Solomon* agrees. The story is as follows:

Ἐλαβον δὲ γυναῖκας ἀπὸ πάσης χώρας καὶ βασιλείας, ὧν οὐκ ἦν ἀριθμὸς. καὶ πορεύθησαν πρὸς τὸν Ἰεβουσαίων βασιλέα καὶ εἶδον γυναῖκα ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ αὐτῶν

καὶ ἡγάπησα αὐτὴν σφόδρα, καὶ ἠθέλησα αὐτὴν μῖξαι σὺν ταῖς γυναῖξί μου. καὶ εἶπον πρὸς τοὺς ἱερεῖς αὐτῶν· “δότε μοι τὴν Σουναμίτην ταύτην, ὅτι ἡγάπησα αὐτὴν σφόδρα.” καὶ εἶπον πρὸς με· “εἰ ἡγάπησας τὴν θυγατέρα ἡμῶν, προσκύνησον τοὺς θεοὺς ἡμῶν, τὸν μέγαν Ῥαφὰν καὶ Μολόχ, καὶ λάβε αὐτήν.” ἐγὼ δὲ οὐκ ἠθέλησα προσκυνῆσαι, ἀλλ’ εἶπον αὐτοῖς· “ἐγὼ οὐ προσκυνῶ θεῷ ἄλλοτρίῳ.” αὐτοὶ δὲ παρεβιάσοντο τὴν παρθένον λέγοντες ὅτι· “ἂν γένηταί σοι εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν Σολομῶντος, εἰπέ αὐτῷ· ‘οὐ κοιμηθήσομαι μετὰ σου ἂν μὴ ὁμοιωθῇς τῷ λαῷ μου, καὶ λάβε ἀκρίδας πέντε καὶ σφάζαι αὐτὰς εἰς τὸ ὄνομα Ῥαφὰν καὶ Μολόχ.’” ἐγὼ δὲ διὰ τὸ ἀγαπᾶν με τὴν κόρην ὡς ὡραίαν οἶσαν πάνυ, καὶ ὡς ἀσύνετος ὢν, οὐδὲν ἐνόμισα τῶν ἀκριδῶν τὸ αἷμα καὶ ἔλαβον αὐτὰς ὑπὸ τὰς χεῖράς μου καὶ ἔθυσα εἰς τὸ ὄνομα Ῥαφὰν καὶ Μολόχ τοῖς εἰδώλοις, καὶ ἔλαβα τὴν παρθένον εἰς τὸν οἶκον τῆς βασιλείας μου.

Καὶ ἀπήρθη τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ θεοῦ ἀπ’ ἐμοῦ, καὶ ἀπ’ ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας ἐγένετο ὡς λῆρος τὰ ῥήματά μου. καὶ ἠνάγκασέ με οἰκονομῆσαι ναοὺς τῶν εἰδώλων. καὶ γὰρ οἷν ὁ δύστηνος ἐποίησα τὴν συμβουλὴν αὐτῆς καὶ τελείως ἀπέστη ἡ δόξα τοῦ θεοῦ ἀπ’ ἐμοῦ καὶ ἐσκοτίσθη τὸ πνεῦμά μου, καὶ ἐγενόμην γέλως τοῖς εἰδώλοις καὶ δαίμοσιν.<sup>1</sup>

One may translate as follows: “And I took wives from every country and kingdom, of whom there was no number. And I went to the king of the Jebusites and I saw a woman in their kingdom and I fell exceedingly in love with her and wished to include her among my wives. And I said to their priests, ‘Give me this Shunamite, for I have fallen exceedingly in love with her.’ And they said to me, ‘If you have fallen in love with our daughter, worship our gods, the great Raphan and Moloch and take her.’ And I was not willing to worship, but said to them, ‘I will not worship a strange god.’ But they laid injunctions upon the maiden, saying, ‘If it should be your lot to enter into the palace of Solomon, say to him, ‘I will not sleep with you, unless you become like my people; so take five locusts and sacrifice them to the name of Raphan and Moloch’.” And because I loved the maid as being very beautiful and because I was without understanding, I did not consider the blood of the locusts but took them in my hands and offered them to the name of Raphan and Moloch, the idols, and I took the maiden into my royal house.

And the spirit of God departed from me and from that day my words became like an empty sound, and she forced me to build temples

<sup>1</sup> See the writer's *Testament of Solomon* (Hinrichs, 1921), c. 26.



of the idols. And wretched being that I was, I did her will and the glory of God departed from me completely and my spirit was darkened and I became a joke to the idols and demons."

One recension of the *Testament* has a slightly different version of the story, in which Solomon first promises the maiden to do her will, and then she prepares the trap for him.<sup>1</sup> In this form the story is closely paralleled in *Kebra Nagast*.<sup>2</sup> Here it is Pharaoh's daughter who seduces the king. She wishes him to worship her idols. On his refusing, she coaxes him until he promises on oath that he will do what she wishes. Then she fastens a thread across the middle of the door of the temple of her idols, brings three locusts, puts them in the temple, and says to him, "Come to me without breaking the woollen thread, by bending under it, kill the locusts before me, and twist their necks." When he has done so, she says, "From now on I will do thy will, since thou hast made offering to my gods and hast prayed to them." The writer of the work exhibits the same apologetic attitude as the *Testament* explaining that Solomon did this to avoid perjuring himself, though he knew it was wrong to enter the idol temple.<sup>3</sup>

The figure of the fair seducer is a motif common enough in folklore. Jeremias suggests as parallels Ishtar and Gilgamesh, Herakles and Dejanira, Samson and Delila, and David and Michal.<sup>4</sup> Many a Tannhäuser has had his Venusberg.

The first point of interest in the legend of Solomon's fall as told in the *Testament* is that it agrees with the usual early Christian tradition in ascribing the wise king's overthrow to his inordinate fondness for women, and in leaving him to die in the darkness of

<sup>1</sup> Recension B, manuscripts PQ; see critical apparatus to sec. 3, ch. 26.

<sup>2</sup> Prof. Dr. Carl Bezold, *Kebra Nagast, Die Herrlichkeit der Könige*, etc. c. 64, in *Abh. d. philos.-philol. Klasse d. königl. bayer. Akad. d. Wiss.* 23 Bd., 1 Abt., München 1905, p. 60 f.

<sup>3</sup> Georg Salzberger, *Die Salomosage in der semitischen Literatur: ein Beitrag zur vergleichenden Sagenkunde*. I Teil: *Salomo bis zur Höhe seines Ruhmes*. (Diss. Heidelberg) Berlin 1907, p. 96, says the same story is found in Kisā'i: If the second part of Salzbergers work has appeared, in which he promised to discuss this matter, I have missed it. Dr. W. F. Albright informs me that Tha'labi, *Qisas al'anbiā'* (Cairo ed.) 224—227 has the story of Solomon's loss of his ring, a punishment for allowing Jarāda, daughter of Sidon, one of his wives, to worship her father's statue. Curiously Jarāda means "locust."

<sup>4</sup> *Das Alte Test. im Lichte d. Alt. Orients*, 3. ed. 1916, p. 434, n. 1.

this eclipse of the divine favour; while Asmodaeus plays quite a different roll as a great demon prince, but not the chief of demons. Beelzeboul, as in the New Testament, is ἀρχὼν πάντων τῶν δαιμόνων. Solomon's undue amorousness is ascribed to the incitement of other demons.<sup>1</sup> The *Testament*, therefore, as Kohler in the *Jewish Encyclopedia* says,<sup>2</sup> represents pre-Talmudic demonology and also a pre-Talmudic standpoint in the development of the Solomonic legend.

In one direction, however, it exhibits a development beyond pre-Talmudic times — and this is the second point of interest — in that it ascribes Solomon's fall to "the Shunamite." Who can this Shunamite be and where does that legend attach itself to the biblical accounts of Solomon?

Two Shunamites appear in the Hebrew Scriptures, (1) Abishag the Shunamite of 1 Kings, the most beautiful maiden in all David's domains, and (2) the friend of Elisha in 2 Kings 4 36; there is in the third place the Shulamite of the Song of Songs. The friend of Elisha is out of the question and the writer of the *Testament* must have in mind one of the two others, either Abishag or the Shulamite of the Song of Songs, as the cause of the king's sin and fall. Differences in the form of the name do not enter into the question. According to all our trustworthy sources, there was in antiquity one Sunem, which is to be identified with the modern Solem or Sulem, a short distance east of El Fuleh at the foot of Jebel ed-Duhy, or Little Hermon.<sup>3</sup> Eusebius and Jerome both locate it quite explicitly in this same spot.<sup>4</sup> They also derive Elisha's benefactress from Sanim in Akkrabattine, nine milestones east of Sebaste, but this is evidently due to a mistaken desire to account for some of the variations of spelling. Such a location is extremely unlikely, for it is in a desolate region off the line of Elisha's usual movements,<sup>5</sup> and the derivation is phonetically impossible. On the other hand the

<sup>1</sup> Πλάνη, *Test. Sol.* c. viii 9, Κακίστη, c. viii II. It is to be noted that the Holkham Hall MS, usually the more original, with the Jerusalem MS after ascribing Solomon's death to the demons, quite inconsistently allows him to die in peace in his palace. This conclusion of the *Testament* in apparently original.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. IV, p. 518.

<sup>3</sup> Conder and Kitchener, *Survey of Western Palestine*, Mem. II 87.

<sup>4</sup> Lagarde, *Onomast. sacra* 294—56 f., 152—16.

<sup>5</sup> Robinson, *Biblical Researches*, Boston 1874, vol. II, pp. 324 f., Lagarde, *op. cit.* 295—86, 153—18, and 87—28, 214—64.

various forms of the word, *Σομνανίτες* and *Σομναμίτις* in the *Testament*, *שׁוֹנְמִית*, *Σομνανέιτις*, *Σομνανίτης* in the Book of Kings, *שׁוֹלָמִית*, *Σουλαμίτις*, *Σομνανέιτις* in the Song of Songs, and *Σουλαβίτις* in some of the Fathers<sup>1</sup> are all derived by natural phonetic changes or possibly sometimes by scribal error from *שׁוֹנָם*, now Solam, which appears in the Septuagint manuscripts as *Σώμαν*, *Σίωναμ*, *Σίωμαμ*.

Has our tradition Abishag the Shunamite of 1 Kings or the Shulamite of the Song of Songs in mind? Abishag was the unwitting cause of the death of Adonijah, according to the account in the Book of Kings and it would seem to be implied that Solomon took her to wife. But she was already in the royal harem before Solomon came to the throne and she is almost certainly an Israelite, not a worshipper of Raphan and Moloch. It seems impossible to suppose that any legend could fasten upon her as the cause of Solomon's fall into idolatry. The rôle she plays is quite different.

As has been suggested by Budde and those who accept his interpretation of the Song of Songs as a cycle of marriage songs such as are still sung in this land, the fame of the beauty of Abishag the Shunamite, coupled with the romance of Adonijah's love for her and his death on that account, persisted down through the centuries and led to her being taken as the unapproachable type of womanly beauty just as Solomon became the paragon of manly excellence and glory. She therefore appears in the Song of Songs as bride, while Solomon is the bridegroom. Shunamite stands, then, for the most beautiful woman in the world.<sup>2</sup>

When, in the *Testament*, Solomon says, "Give me this Shunamite," he means, 'Give me this most beautiful woman.' The story in the *Testament* becomes, then, a confirmation of Budde's theory, an example of the usage he claims for the Song of Songs, which is otherwise, I think, without parallel. This far one can go without hesitation.

It is possible that this brief sentence in the *Testament* witnesses to an interpretation of the Song of Songs which was held by those who opposed its admission into the Canon of the Hebrew Scriptures. It is well known that it was only because the Song was interpreted allegorically of the love of God for his people that the book was

<sup>1</sup> For example, Migne, *Patrol. Graeca* 17, 280, from a Vatican Catena.

<sup>2</sup> See the commentaries of Siegfried (*Handkommentar*) and Budde, (*Kurzer Handkommentar*), ad Cant. 7 1.

finally given the *imprimatur* of the rabbinical councils.<sup>1</sup> This same interpretation, usually altered to make Solomon a representative of Christ and the beloved maiden a type of the Church, was then adopted by the Christian exegetes and has persisted until the present.

Both the Song of Songs and the *Testament of Solomon* are more easily understood, however, if we may suppose that there was current a legend or cycle of legends describing Solomon's love affairs. One may be justified in supposing that some of the unintelligible allusions in the Song of Songs would be explained if we had these legends before us and that others may possibly be due to the excision or modification of allusions which were unacceptable to a rigid monotheism. If this may seem to be going too far, it at least is within the range of probability that the *Testament* reflects an interpretation of the Song of Solomon which took it to describe his *θηλυμανία* and regarded the maiden whose ravishing beauty is so sensuously described as the cause of his downfall. Such a conception of the book was naturally repressed by the constituted authorities and could be preserved only in books like the *Testament*, which never received ecclesiastical approval but circulated among the less instructed along by and forbidden paths.

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<sup>1</sup> See Siegfried, *op. cit.*, p. 78ff. Budde, *op. cit.*, p. IXf.



## NOTES OF LOCALITY IN THE PSALTER

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WHAT I have to say needs, in order to make it intelligible, to be prefaced by a brief statement of the origin and composition of the Psalter as I understand it.

Psalms 3—41 were the first Psalm book of the Jerusalem Temple. Psalms 51—71 were in origin the Psalm book of the great Israelite temple at Shechem, the lineal ancestor of the Samaritan temple on Mt. Gerizim, as the original Deuteronomy was the law book of that temple. With the destruction of Samaria and the kingdom of Israel in the last quarter of the 8<sup>th</sup> century these writings were transported to Jerusalem and were instrumental in producing first the renaissance, then the reformation there, precisely as the transportation of scholars and books from the East to the West brought about first the Renaissance, then the Reformation in central and western Europe after the fall of Constantinople in 1453 A. D. Out of the original Shechemite Deuteronomy was developed the Judæan law book, Deuteronomy, and out of the Shechemite Psalter a second Davidic Psalter, *i. e.* Psalter of the Jerusalem temple, which, I take it, is the meaning of the Psalm title "of David." These two Davidic Psalters were formed into one whole, framed by two new hymns, Psalms 2 and 72, and the double collection thus formed was entitled "Prayers of David Son of Jesse," so that the colophon at the close of Psalm 72 reads "The Prayers of David son of Jesse are ended."

To this Jerusalem Psalter were added, but not incorporated in it, Psalms from the temple at Dan, and Psalms from the Temple at Bethel, the Psalms of the sons of Kōrah and the Psalms of Asaph, 42—49, 50 and 73—83, and 84—89. (By an early dislocation a part of these Psalms, 42—50, was inserted between the two parts of the great Davidic Psalter.) These Psalms, 2—89 (Psalm 1 is of later

origin, a preface to the entire Psalter), constituted the Psalter of the pre-exilic period, the first three books of our present Psalter; later subjected, like the legal and prophetic books, to considerable editing.

Post-exilic psalmody is very different in character. Among other things, while the Psalms of the pre-exilic Psalter were regularly single, one Psalm constituting a liturgy, in the post-exilic period liturgies were framed consisting of a number of Psalms. This was due to the new requirements of Temple worship. The Temple at Jerusalem had become the one centre of worship for Jews not only in Judaea but throughout the world. The number of worshippers assembling at Jerusalem for the great feasts was enormous and the number of sacrifices offered at these feasts was proportional. The liturgies to be used on such occasions had to be increased accordingly, and so the new liturgies of that period are in general groups of Psalms, five or more in number, sometimes indicated as such by the title prefixed to the first Psalm of the group only. The first of these groups is the Prayer of Moses, 90—99, like the commandments of Moses a decalogue, divided into two pentads. Like the Kōrah and Asaph Psalms this liturgical group retained an identity of its own as to title, not being designated as “of David,” *i. e.* stamped with the hall mark of the Jerusalem temple. Psalms 103—107, headed “of David,” constitute a liturgy of five Psalms very clearly marked for use at one of the great pilgrim feasts. Psalms 111—118 constitute the *hallel*, and were evidently brought together to form one liturgy. Similarly 145—150 constitute one liturgy; or perhaps better 146—150 constitute the liturgy, in five parts, ‘prefaced by a sort of introduction, 145. We have also two collections and one very long acrostic in the latter books, which were often, if not generally used together, viz. that great acrostic praise of the Law, Psalm 119, consisting of twenty-two Psalms of eight verses each; the Songs of Degrees, 120—134, a collection primarily of pilgrim songs, composed for and sung by pilgrims from Babylonia to Jerusalem; and the little Davidic Psalter, 138—144. Incidentally it may be added that at the time of the Chronicler the Psalter ended with Psalm 134, the close of the Songs of Degrees. Later there was a sort of gleanings which gathered in among other things this little collection of old hymns, Psalms 138—144.

Some of these collections have very strongly marked notes of locality. This is peculiarly true of the Psalms of the sons of Kōrah,

*i. e.* The Psalms of Dan, as I tried to point out in a former paper.<sup>1</sup> The first Davidic Psalter has also a marked individuality in this regard. To a very considerable extent it is a collection of battle liturgies, belonging to the militant period of Judæan history. It must be remembered that ancient Jerusalem was a very strong, almost impregnable fortress. It was largely for this reason that David chose it as his capital. Its reputation as an impregnable stronghold at that time is shown by the mocking reply of the Jebusites, when he called upon them to surrender, that "the blind and the lame" could defend their fortress against him (2 Sam. 5, 6). That fortress lay on a narrow ridge of rock with almost precipitous sides, provided with a sufficient supply of living water from the Mary fountain by means of a tunnel and a shaft, through the failure of the Jebusites to guard which David won the city. He and his successors enlarged and strengthened the city, which became a series of strongholds, one of which was the Temple. Most ancient temples were also strongholds, but this was peculiarly true of the Zion of Jerusalem. Resolutely defended it was impregnable. The country might be overrun and devastated, but Zion and David's city could hold out indefinitely. The Temple safe, the invader could not maintain himself. Unable to obtain water he would soon be compelled to withdraw. So in Hezekiah's time Sennacherib's great army, although it overran and devastated the land, was obliged to retire from Jerusalem. Hence it was that the inviolability of the Temple, protected by the presence of Yahweh, became a doctrine, as in the prophecies of Isaiah. The invincibility of Zion and of Yahweh were identified, and trust in Zion and trust in Yahweh became one. These peculiar local conditions are reflected in a number of Psalms of the first Jerusalem Psalter, as 7, 11, 12, 14, 17, 27, 28, 30, 31, 32. Several of these are in fact siege Psalms, liturgies designed to be used in the Temple to obtain divine help when the country was overrun and the city threatened or beleaguered. The opening verse of Psalm 11, designated by its caption "In the Lord have I trusted," is:

How say ye to me:

Flee to your hill like a bird?

which is very much what Sennacherib in his inscriptions says of the Jews shut up by him in Jerusalem.

<sup>1</sup> See *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*, Vol. 1, p. 36.

Psalm 27 pictures vividly the conditions of siege in Jerusalem, with Yahweh as the invincible fortress who shall defend His people:

The Lord my light and my salvation, whom have I to fear?  
The Lord the fortress of my life, whom have I to dread?

When the wicked pressed upon me to eat me up,  
My foemen and mine enemies, they stumbled and fell.  
Though there camp an host against me, my heart feareth not;  
Though there rise up war against me, I still will trust.

One thing I have asked of the Lord, this I entreat:  
To dwell in the house of the Lord all the days of my life,  
To gaze upon the beauty of the Lord, and inquire in His Temple;  
For He hideth me in His covert in the days of trouble,  
In His secret tent He covereth me, He setteth me on a rock.

And now mine head is lifted above mine enemies around me,  
And I would offer in His tent offerings with a shout,  
I would sing and make music to the Lord.

Imagine that being sung in the Temple in proud confidence of deliverance by the strength of Yahweh and His stronghold from the foes that rage in vain below the walls!

Note how in Ps. 28 s Yahweh is called:

. . . . . The strength of His people,  
And the stronghold of the victories of His anointed.

In Ps. 30 we have:

Thou, Lord, of Thy goodness hast made my hill so strong.

In Ps. 31 the appeal is for rescue "from the hands of my foes and from my pursuers", and the suppliant king is made to say:

Be to me a strong rock,  
A house of defence to save me;  
For my crag and my defence art Thou;

and then, in the Thanksgiving with which the Psalm closes:

Blessed be the Lord, for marvellous His love to me in a strong city.  
And I—I said in mine alarm: I am cut off from before Thee.

It ends with the confident cry:

Be strong and let your heart be brave,  
All ye who wait upon the Lord.

In Psalm 32 the invasion is described as a flood of great waters, the same figure used of the Assyrian invasion in Is. 8 7 ff.



Therefore all the godly pray to Thee at the time of acceptance (of sacrifice);  
 In the flood the great waters do not come nigh him.  
 Thou art my hiding place, from trouble Thou guardest me;  
 God of my song deliver me from them that surround me;

with the triumph cry of deliverance at the close:

Great plagues befall the godless;  
 Who trusteth in the Lord mercy surroundeth him.  
 Be glad in the Lord, and exult, ye righteous.  
 Shout merrily all ye upright of heart.

One may well imagine this to have been a liturgy used at the time of the great deliverance under Hezekiah.

But not only in these siege Psalms do we find this note of confidence in the great strength of Yahweh in His Zion fortress; it appears also in such Temple hymns as 5 and 23, and is a characteristic feature of this Psalm book as a whole, marking it off in local reference from all other collections in the Psalter.

The Asaph Psalms 50, 73—83, are characterised as Israelitic by the use of Elohim instead of Yahweh. The repeated use of Joseph, Ephraim and Manasseh indicates a Samaritan origin. To these tribal names is added in Psalm 80 Benjamin, suggesting Bethel as that Samaritan shrine which by its proximity had a relation to Benjamin as well as Ephraim and Manasseh, a relation brought out in the strange story of the war with Benjamin in Jud. 20—21, where, incidentally, the Ark is mentioned as housed there (cf. Jud. 20 25—28, 21 2—4, 19). The relation of these Psalms to Bethel is further confirmed by the frequent use in them of the title God of Jacob, and of El as the designation of the Divinity, a designation never used in the kindred collection of the Sons of Korah, from the temple of Dan, and rarely elsewhere. Further confirmation of their Bethel origin is found in their fondness for entitling God a rock or stone. Now Bethel was a great nature shrine connected primarily with stone or rock worship. Its sanctity was derived originally from a striking natural phenomenon, a field of huge stone pillars, the result of erosion. These stood on a sort of shelf above the village of Beitin northward. They looked like gigantic heaps of memorial or testimony, stones piled one on top of another as a memorial or testimony to God or some saint, such as one sees all over Palestine and Syria. Only the stone heaps at Bethel were colossal, produced by natural causes, such as no ordinary man could erect. Hence they were attributed to the mighty ancestor, Jacob (cf. Gen 28 10—22). Above this stone field the hill rises to a

crest or ridge, which separates the more plateau—like mountain in the south from the broken mountain—country northward. This crest gains from its position, as one approaches from the south, an effect of height quite out of proportion to its actual elevation, everything seeming to ascend to it from far south of Jerusalem northward. This crest, rising just above Jacob's pillars, was the "ladder" (סֹלֶם), (a word properly meaning promontory, like the famous "ladder of Tyre" on the Phoenician coast,) which Jacob saw connecting earth and heaven. When the Israelites conquered the country they took over both Jacob and his ancient shrine, identifying Jacob with Israel, and converting Luz into Bethel.

I have described this site as I knew it before the war. During the war a road was run through the field of stone pillars, and the pillars themselves were broken up to make macadam. The road and the line of approach have altered also the effect formerly produced by the ridge itself. If one will look, however, from some such point as Nebi Samwil the Bethel ridge still appears as a crest to which all the land southward seems to rise, as it were a ladder heavenward.

The Shechem Psalm book (51—71) does not contain such marked local references as the three collections already noticed. Its connection with Shechem is determined mainly by other considerations. Ps. 60, however, contains a clear note of Shechemite origin:

Exulting I divide Shechem,  
And mete out the valley of Succoth;  
Mine is Gilead and mine Manasseh,  
And Ephraim the defence of my head.

The verse in Ps. 68. "It snoweth in Zaimon" would also seem to indicate the neighborhood of Shechem (cf. Jud. 9 48); and the beautiful description of the harvest in Ps. 65 would best fit that region:

Thou didst visit the land and water it,  
Greatly Thou enrichest it  
(God's river is full of water);  
Thou preparest their corn.  
For thus Thou preparest it,  
Her furrows watering, her ridges smoothing,  
With showers Thou softenest her, her sprouting Thou blessest.  
Thou hast crowned the year with Thy goodness,  
And Thy chariot wheels drop fatness.  
Wilderness pastures run over,  
And the hills are girt with joy.  
The meadows are clad with flocks,  
And the valleys clothed with grain.

In a similar direction point such phrases as "With marrow and fatness I am sated," in Ps. 53 (cf. the blessing of Joseph in Deut. 32).

The local references in the post-exilic Psalter are quite different from those in the early books and deal chiefly with the pilgrims and the pilgrimages, showing incidentally also a larger connection with the outside world, including regions beyond the sea (cf. 107). Most vivid and most appealing to me are the references in the pilgrim hymn book or Songs of Ascent (120—134). I learned especially to know and love these when four times I made the pilgrim journey from Babylonia to Palestine, experiencing what those pilgrims experienced. Let me take a few of those Psalms to illustrate, and first Ps. 120.

Unto the Lord in my distress I called, and He answered me.

Lord, deliver me from the lying lip, from the deceitful tongue.

What shall be given thee, and what be done more to thee, deceitful tongue?

Arrows of the warrior sharpened with coals of broom?

Woe is me that I journeyed through Meshech, abode among the tents of Kedar!

Long time I dwelt with the hater of peace.

When I would speak peace, they were for battle.

It is the song of the pilgrim thankful for deliverance from the perils of the long journey from Babylonia through hostile and barbarous regions. How that journey was dreaded by peaceful travellers in the old time can be read in the book of Ezra (8 21—23). Apprehensive of perils along the route the great caravan halted at Hit. Anxious to show their trust in the Lord they would not ask for military escort; but instead turned to God with fasting and supplication for protection. That represents the normal condition of Euphrates travel, with Meshech on the north and the tents of Kedar on the south, treacherous in their dealing with the stranger, with lying lips and deceitful tongues, and sharp arrows ready at hand, haters of peace, who may return your *salām 'aleikum* with a volley. So I found the journey in my day: peaceful caravans, in mortal terror of the bedouin marauders, seeking to attach themselves to some strong, armed or escorted caravan, always apprehensive of attack, alarmed at the sight of an Arab encampment, only free from tension when the land of the Arab was past. Every one loves Ps. 121:

I lift up mine eyes to the hills.

Whence cometh my help?

My help is from the Lord,

Maker of heaven and earth.

May He not suffer thy foot to be moved!  
 He cannot slumber that keepeth thee!  
 Behold, the keeper of Israel  
 Shall neither slumber nor sleep.

The Lord is thy keeper,  
 The Lord thy shade on thy right hand;  
 The sun shall not hurt thee by day,  
 Neither the moon by night.

The Lord keep thee from all evil!  
 He will keep thy life.  
 The Lord keep thy coming and thy going  
 Henceforth and for ever!

The relief and joy at the sight of the hills on this journey appeal to all who have made it. What must it have meant to those Jewish pilgrims! Danger past, the goal of the weary journey almost in sight, among those hills the holy city, the desire of their heart, the abode of their God, the source of their salvation! How vv. 3—8 quiver with the life of the march, the watch at night who falls asleep, the sun of midday with intolerable heat, and the bitter, bitter cold of the night when the moon seems to exude frigidity! Yahweh, Israel's unsleeping night watch, and his shelter from both heat and cold, to guard him against all the terrors and ills of the pilgrimage, to bring him safe to Jerusalem, and safe back again to his Babylonian home!

Psalm 122 pictures the gathering of the pilgrims for the journey:

Glad was I when they said to me,  
 To the house of the Lord let us go.

Psalm 123 is the cry of the Jew of the Captivity, despised, fed on contumely by those whom he in his heart despises, appealing to God for pity on this occasion of his visit to Jerusalem, and proclaiming his fealty to Him in a language borrowed from the servile submission exacted of him in Babylonia.

To Thee lift I up mine eyes, O Thou that dwellest in heaven.  
 Behold, as the eyes of slaves to the hand of their masters,  
 As the eyes of a maid to the hand of her mistress,  
 So our eyes are upon the Lord our God until He do pity us.  
 Pity us, Lord, pityus! for we have been filled full with contempt;  
 Fully have we been filled with the mocking of the arrogant,  
 The contempt of the insolent.



And how beautifully Ps. 125 presents that vision of the holy city which met the pilgrim's gaze at his journey's end: Mt. Zion, immovable, abiding ever,—Jerusalem engirdled with hills.

The Songs of Ascent are folk songs, of which we have also two specimens in the gleanings at the close of the Psalter: one in Psalm 137, "By the rivers of Babylon," and the other, which has been generally overlooked, in Ps. 144. I have said that the little Davidic Psalter, 138—144, is ancient in origin. It was passed down unofficially for a long period, and as a result the text of this collection is in worse shape than that of any other part of the Psalter. The best evidence of both these statements is furnished by the closing Psalm of the collection, 144. This is a composite Psalm, the first part, vv. 1—11, based primarily on the great Davidic Psalm of victory, 18, but with many additions and modifications; the second part, 12—14 (15 is the closing benediction), an ancient folk song of a very peculiar metre, of which there is but one other instance in Hebrew literature, viz. Is. 3 18—23, a Jerusalem street song, a *Spottlied* in mockery of female fashions, which Isaiah made the text of a sermon against the luxury of women.

That passage reads as follows:

העכסים	והשביסים	והשהרנים
הנמפות	והשרות	והרעלות
הפארים	והצערות	והקשרים
ובתי הנפש והלחמים הטבעות ונצמי האף		
המחלצות	והמעטפות	והמטפחות
החריטים	והגלינים	והסדינים
הצניפות	והררדים	(.....)

These verses consist of a string of nouns, the names of articles of female dress and adornment, so strung together that we have in the three lines of the first verse three masculine plurals in *im*, three feminine plurals in *oth*, and two masculine plurals with a feminine between. In the third verse this arrangement is precisely reversed. (The last word of the last line has been lost.) These two verses are separated by a verse of one line, commencing and ending with construct plurals, between which we have one masculine and one feminine.

Vv. 12—14 of Ps. 144, as they have come down to us, read:

אשר בנינו כנמעים מגדלים בנעוריהם  
 בנותינו כזוית מחטבות תבנית היכל  
 מזוינו מלאים מפיקים מון אל זן  
 צאוננו מאלופות מרבבות בחוצותינו  
 אלופינו מסבלים  
 אין פרץ ואין יוצאת ואין צוהה ברחבתינו

As it stands the passage is quite unintelligible. By very slight transpositions and changes, indicated by the poetic form, and dropping the relative, אשר, which now connects this part of the Psalm with the preceding, we obtain a very intelligible poem of the same general form as that in Isaiah.

בנינו כנמעים מגדלים בנעוריהם  
 בנותינו כזוית מחטבות בנוותיהם  
 (.....) מזוינו מלאים מפיקים  
 אין פרץ ואין יוצאת ואין צוהה  
 צאנינו מאלופות מרבבות בחוצותינו  
 אלופינו מסבלים (.....) ברחבתינו

This would translate:

Our sons like plants waxed great in their youth,  
 Our daughters comely, gaily clad in their homes.  
 Our garners full, overflowing (from base to eave),  
 No breakage, no leakage, no looting.  
 Our flocks in thousands, in myriads in our fields,  
 Our oxen (stalwart), heavy burdened in our streets.

I have made, as will be seen, a slight change in the last word of the second line, following the suggestion of the last word of the line preceding. I have not been able to conjecture what lies behind the unintelligible conglomeration of letters at the close of e. 3, to which I have given a sense rendering in English, *from base to eave*. I have resolved line 6, obtaining from it line 4 and the last word of line 6. One word is lacking in 6, which must evidently have meant something like *stalwart*.

## THE USE OF ELLIPSIS IN "SECOND ISAIAH"

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IN poetry and oratory it is a normal thing to adopt some device to gain the attention of the hearer, to secure his interest, and, sometimes, to surprise him. Anything unexpected or out of the way which makes the hearer (or reader) think and puzzle out the meaning, serves both to attract him and to secure his co-operation. Such a device is the *ellipsis* where the orator or poet purposely leaves an expression incomplete, sure that the hearer will himself complete the idea in his own mind. The speaker stops short for a moment until the hearer discovers his intention, and then goes on with his discourse. This gives a certain piquancy to the narrative. In modern punctuation this device is indicated by a row of dots . . . . The device is found amongst the Arabs and, by writers on rhetoric (البدیع), it is known as الاكتفاء, that is to say, the poet is content with giving part only of what he has to say, relying on the hearer to discover and complete for himself what is lacking. We find the same use in the Bible, especially in the latter part of Isaiah, chapters 40—66. It occurs in various forms; and by having this usage in mind we are able to explain correctly various passages where the interpretation would otherwise be difficult or forced.

### I

In the Bible, as in all literature, we are accustomed to figurative expressions embodying the idea of *extremes*, whether of height, time or place, usually in the form "*from something unto something else.*" Of this type are *from the least to the greatest* (Jer. 6 13; 31 34), *from the youngest to the eldest* (Est. 3 13; Gen. 19 4), *from everlasting to*

everlasting (Ps. 92 2; 103 17), from the rising of the sun to the going down thereof (Mal. 1 11), from the one end of the heavens to the other (Deut. 4 32), from one end of the earth to the other (Deut. 13 8; Jer. 25 33), and the like.

In such passages the writers in "Second Isaiah" are at times content to introduce but one half of the sentence, relying on the hearer himself to complete the thought in accordance with the prophet's intention.

1. In Is. 40 26 the Prophet describing the greatness of God says: *Lift up your eyes and see, who hath created these? Who brings out their host by number; to them all he calls by name; מרב אונים ואמין כה איש לא נעדר from the great in power and mighty in strength . . . not a man is lacking.*

Commentators are hard put to it to explain the latter section. Duhm interprets: "In the presence of God, who is great in power and mighty in strength, not even one of them is lacking"—but he feels the difficulty in the expression מן נעדר and is hard pressed to prove its possibility.

Even more difficult is the explanation "because of the greatness of God's power and the power of his might, not a man of them is lacking". It is not easy to bring this idea into the words מרב אונים ואמין in the absence of the pronoun referring to God (כחו, אוניו).

It is better to regard the words מרב אונים ואמין כה as referring to the stars with which the writer is dealing throughout the entire section. Then the meaning will be: "Lift up your eyes to the heavens and see. Who created all the myriads of stars? Behold this is God who brings them out by number, one by one, like soldiers attending a roll-call. He recognises everyone of them and summons him forth by name and all answer to their call; from the strongest (מרב אונים כה ואמין כה) . . . (here the listener completes the sense—even to the weakest) not one is missing."

The Prophet intentionally interrupts himself while mentioning the strong, leaving the completion, "even to the weakest," to the imagination of his hearer. In dilating on the majesty of God he refers in his comparison only to the strongest among the stars.

2. Is. 44 7: *And who as I can proclaim [i. e. future events before they come to pass]? Let him declare it and set it in order before me, משומי עם עולם since I appointed the ancient people . . .*



Here the speaker abbreviates and the listener realises that he must add *ועד היום הזה* *even to this day*. The meaning is: "Who of all created beings, from the time that I created the people of old till the present day,—who of them can proclaim beforehand the things that will come to pass?" Or, the meaning may be: "Who like me can proclaim from the beginning the future things that will befall, from the time that I appointed an ancient nation—to the end of time?"

3. Still more elliptical is Is. 43 13: *Yea, since the day . . . I am he*. This corresponds to the passage (44 6) *I am the first and I am the last*. The full phrase would be: *Yea, since the first day until eternity I am he*.

4. 42 10: *Sing to the Lord a new song; his praise* *מקצה הארץ* *from (one) end of the earth . . .* and here the hearer is left to continue the thought *עד קצה הארץ* *even to the other end of the earth*.

5. Similarly in 56 11: *They all turn to their own way, each to his own gain; מקצהו* *from the one extreme of them . . .* where the idea to be understood is: All of them, from the one extreme to the other (i. e. without any exception) turn every man to his own way and to his own private profit, and not one attends to the sheep of his pasture.

## II

Another form of ellipsis in these chapters is the omission of one of two *opposing* expressions, where the speaker relies on the hearer to grasp his intention by understanding the opposition which is in the speaker's mind.

6. Is. 49 17: *Thy children* (or, according to one Hebrew codex and Vulgate, supported by LXX, *בונים* *Thy builders*) *make haste . . . : thy destroyers and they that made thee waste shall go forth from thee*. The verb *shall go forth* implies that the missing word is its opposite *shall come in*. Then the completed expression would be: "Thy children (or, better, *thy builders*) hasten to come in; while, on the contrary, thy destroyers and they that made thee waste shall go forth from thee."

7. Is. 49 19: *For thy waste and thy desolate places, and thy land that hath been destroyed . . .* here the reader or hearer has to supply

some such expression as *shall be built up*; yet notwithstanding this, the Prophet continues: תצרי מיושב *thou shalt be too strait for the inhabitants*.

### III

Again, this elliptical device omits odd words or whole phrases, the speaker supposing that the hearer will understand by the help of the context. Bearing this in mind we can better explain the two following passages, the first of which, especially, is otherwise very difficult.

8. Is. 41 2: (speaking of the victorious advance of Cyrus) יתן כעפר חרבו כקש נרף קשתו *He makes his sword as dust, his bow as driven stubble*.

To compare the sword to dust gives no sense; while to compare the bow to driven stubble, when in the act of praising the deeds of the conqueror, gives even less. The present writer believes that before חרבו *his sword*, and קשתו *his bow*, certain words are intentionally omitted and left to the imagination of the reader; *e. g.* he makes like dust חרבו *those slain by his sword*; like driven stubble קשתו *those who flee from his bow*. And immediately after, he says of these: ירדפם *he pursueth them*. Thus the sense of the passage will be: "Those slain by his sword are as countless as the dust of the earth, and those who escape from his bow are as feeble as stubble blown by the wind."

9. Is. 51 13: *And thou fearest all the day because of the fury of the oppressor when he makes ready . . . to destroy*. After כונן *make ready*, some such word as קשתו *his bow* is lacking. Cf. Ps. 7 13.

10. Is. 65 15: The Prophet speaks of those who forsake God who shall all bow down to the slaughter (v. 12), and he goes on to say: *and ye shall leave your name for a curse unto mine elect: the Lord God shall slay thee: and he shall call his servants by another name*.

What is the meaning of *The Lord God shall slay thee*? Here we have only the beginning of the form of curse. When God's elect shall wish to curse anyone, they will say: *May the Lord God slay thee . . .* and the reader is expected to continue in his own mind as *he slew these men*, if ye do, or do not do, this particular thing.

In Jer. 29 22 we find a precise parallel to this: *And of them shall be taken up a curse by all the captivity of Judah that are in Babylon,*

saying, *The Lord make thee like Zedekiah, and like Ahab, whom the king of Babylon roasted in the fire.* Here we get the complete curse formula with the word לאמר saying before it, which the writer in Isaiah, in accordance with his elliptical style, has omitted.

## IV

Sometimes the ellipsis takes the form of omitting words which are similar in sound to a neighbour in the sentence:

11. Is. 65 5: After speaking of *the rebellious people that walk in a way that is not good* (v. 2) it goes on to say אלה עשן באפי *these are smoke in my nostrils, a fire that burneth all the day.* Here the meaning is: על אלה because of these, עולה goeth up smoke in my nostrils, and a fire that burneth all the day. The two words על and עולה are omitted owing to their similarity in sound to אלה these.

12. Is. 41 4: *Who hath performed and done it* קורא הדורות מראש *proclaiming . . . the generations from the beginning.* After קורא *proclaiming*, קורות *events, occurrences* is required: "proclaiming what has befallen and will befall the generations from the beginning of time." And the meaning of the whole verse is: "Who hath performed and done all the things described in the preceding verses [the deeds of Cyrus]? Who is he that proclaimeth and declareth from the beginning all the fortunes of the generations before their coming to pass? I, the Lord."

13. Is. 44 12: חרש ברזל מעצד This is simply: *The worker in iron, an axe*, where the meaning demands the addition of a similar sounding word: חרש ברזל חרש [עשה] מעצד *The worker in iron worked an axe.*

14. Is. 44 12: *Yea he is hungry* ואין כח The preposition and pronoun לו *to him* is necessary, and *his strength faileth*, but it is omitted owing to the similar sounding לא *not* which follows: לא שתה מים וייעף *he drinketh not water and is faint.*

## V

Besides all that has been said above of the omission of nouns, verbs, and whole sentences, we also find in these chapters in various places the omission of the words לו and בו required by the context:

15. Is. 40 15: *Behold the nations are as a drop in a bucket, and as the dust in the balance נחשבו are they accounted.* Here, at the end, the word לו *to him* must be added; that is, *in his eyes* they are accounted so.

16. Is. 44 19: (לו) ולא דעת ולא תבונה

17. Is. 46 6: (לו) יסגדו אף ישתחוו

18. Is. 53 2: (לו) ונחמדהו ולא מראה

19. Is. 60 15: (בך) תחת היותך עוובה ושנואה ואין עובר

20. Is. 61 3: (בו) מסע יהוה להתפאר

21. Is. 47-15: (בם) כן היו לך אשר יגעת

22. Is. 52 11: (בו) ממא אל תנעו

23. Is. 64 10: (בו) אבתינו בית קדשנו ותפארתנו אשר הללוך



## LA MAISON D'ABRAHAM À HÉBRON

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LES traditions secondaires qui sont venues se greffer au sanctuaire de la sépulture des Patriarches à Hébron, telles que la déposition d'Adam et d'Ève, le transfert des ossements de Joseph et des autres fils de Jacob n'ont jamais été que des satellites autour de la mémoire du grand ancêtre, Abraham qui a fini par donner son nom à la ville d'Hébron, après l'avoir attirée auprès de son tombeau. Ainsi fera Lazare à Béthanie, lorsque son tombeau ou *Lazarium* aura groupé à son ombre les demeures de l'ancien village pour former la moderne *el-Azarîyeh*.

Encore fallait-il qu'Abraham jouît parmi ses descendants d'une primauté telle que la sépulture commune fût désignée par son nom. Sa prédominance incontestée s'affirme par le fait du vocable d'*Abramium* ou *Abrahamium* conféré au sanctuaire d'Hébron,<sup>1</sup> et qui suppose le grec *Ἀβράμιον* retrouvé d'ailleurs dans une inscription du Haram-el-Khalil, vocable formé sur le thème courant des dérivés désignant soit un tombeau (*Herodium*, *Lazarium*), soit un temple (*Tychaion*, *Marneion*), soit une forteresse nommée d'après son fondateur (*Alexandrium*, *Hyrcanium*).

*Abramium* s'imposait d'autant plus dans la circonstance qu'il comprenait ici non seulement la sépulture d'Abraham et son sanctuaire, mais aussi la résidence et la citadelle en quelque sorte du Patriarche et de ses descendants, d'après un développement de la tradition clairement indiqué par le *Livre des Jubilés* et dont saint Jérôme lui-même se fait le témoin.

<sup>1</sup> On trouve ce nom employé par les auteurs latins, Jérôme, Augustin, Eugippius, Pseudo-Eucher, Pierre Comestor etc.

## I

Il fut un temps où *Mambré* parut perdre son autonomie pour se fondre avec Hébron en vertu d'une étroite compréhension de l'expression «Macpélah en face de Mambré», vu qu'en réalité Macpélah se trouvait en face d'Hébron.<sup>1</sup> En fait, une Mambré distincte d'Hébron ne disparut jamais, puisque le *Livre des Jubilés* mentionne encore le premier séjour d'Abraham dans la montagne hébronienne «au chêne de Mambré qui est près d'Hébron» conformément à la tradition locale enregistrée par Josèphe (*Antiq. Jud.*, I, 104). Mais au second séjour qui débute par la mort de Sarah, la situation n'est plus la même: Abraham vient camper en face d'Hébron qui est Qiriath-Arba', et acquiert le terrain de la caverne double situé vis à vis d'Hébron.<sup>2</sup> A nous en tenir à ce document, grotte, champ et lieu de campement occupent un même point du territoire et font à la fois l'objet du contrat de vente. Désormais, Abraham habitera sur le terrain qu'il a acheté à deniers comptants, tout proche, sinon au dessus du tombeau de famille. Donc au séjour de Mambré a succédé un séjour à Macpélah.

Au cours de l'histoire de la descendance d'Abraham, les *Jubilés*, passant sous silence et Mambré et la tente du nomade, ne parlent plus que de la maison d'Abraham, de la tour d'Abraham, édifice avec portes et appartements. C'est là qu'Isaac prend logement quand il vient à Hébron, c'est là que séjournent Jacob et ses fils en visite chez Isaac et Rébecca, tandis qu'Esau vit, loin de ses parents, au mont Séir. Par suite de la résignation des droits de l'ainé, la tour ou maison d'Abraham échoit en héritage à Jacob qui en fait sa résidence ordinaire. Le but de cette fiction est évidemment de légitimer les prétentions des Juifs, fils de Jacob, sur le sanctuaire et le territoire d'Hébron et de couper court à toute revendication des Iduméens, fils d'Esau. Projetant ensuite à l'époque patriarcale les haines et les luttes des temps hasmonéens, la *Petite Genèse* nous fait assister à la campagne des Édomites contre Jacob et ses fils installés dans la forteresse d'Abraham. Lorsque les gens d'Hébron

<sup>1</sup> Sur cette question, on pourra consulter notre monographie sur *Mambré* dans les *Conférences de Saint-Étienne*, 1909—10, p. 145—218.

<sup>2</sup> CHARLES, *The Book of Jubilees or the Little Genesis translated from the editor's ethiopic text*, Ch. XIV, 10; XVI, 1; XIX, 1, 5.

vont avertir le père des Juifs de l'arrivée des ennemis, celui-ci est en train de célébrer, dans la tour, le deuil de Liah, ce qui n'était point malaisé, si l'habitation renfermait la grotte sépulcrale. On ferme les portes de la tour et Jacob monte aux créneaux afin de parlementer avec Esaü. Celui-ci, persistant dans ses intentions hostiles, reçoit de son frère une flèche qui l'abat. Aussitôt sur les quatre côtés de la forteresse, les fils de Jacob opèrent une sortie à la tête de quatre détachements et mettent la coalition en déroute.<sup>1</sup> Une fois Esaü enseveli sur la colline d'Adôra, Jacob revient dans sa maison. Il n'est pas sans importance de noter ici le changement qui fait de la maison d'Abraham la maison de Jacob, et nous permet de saisir l'identité de la *domus Jacobi* d'Éthérie et du *castellum Aframia* de Willibald.<sup>2</sup>

La littérature juive n'a pas manqué de broder sur le canevas de la mort d'Esaü devant la maison d'Abraham. Bien qu'il eût cédé à Jacob tous ses droits sur la caverne double, le redoutable Edom se trouvait avec ses fils à l'entrée de ladite caverne au moment où l'on y apportait la dépouille de Jacob, pour s'opposer à l'ensevelissement. Une bagarre s'ensuivit au cours de laquelle Khousim, fils de Dan, fit sauter d'un coup d'épée la tête d'Esaü qui vint rouler près du tombeau d'Isaac.<sup>3</sup> Ce que l'on retiendra de cette évolution légendaire, c'est le fondement qu'elle fournit pour établir une relation étroite entre la prétendue résidence d'Abraham et la nécropole patriarcale.

## II

Il est entendu qu'Abraham n'a rien bâti de semblable autour de sa caverne, si l'on se tient aux sobres données du récit biblique; mais, faisant état du procédé qui consiste à composer l'histoire contemporaine avec des noms et des circonstances empruntés à l'antiquité, on peut légitimement se demander si dans l'esprit de l'auteur des *Jubilés* cette résidence ne répondait pas à quelque monument

<sup>1</sup> Ch. XXIX, 19; XXXI, 5; XXXIII, 21; XXXIV, 12. 20; XXXVII et XXXVIII.

<sup>2</sup> Le texte d'Éthérie conservé par Pierre Diacre décrit ainsi le H̱aram el-Khalîl: *domus Jacobi, ubi ecclesia sine tecto constructa est*. GEYER, *Itin. Hierosol.*, p. 110. Cf. *Itin. Hieros. Soc. Or. Lat.* I, p. 268.

<sup>3</sup> CHARLES, *The Book of Jubilees*, p. 220, note sur XXXVIII, 2 et 3. JOSEF BIN GORION, *Die Sagen der Juden, Die XII Stämme*, p. 65, 74, 209.

réel existant à l'époque des Hasmonéens. Le terme original qui désignait l'habitation des Patriarches à Macpélah est de nature à nous mettre sur la voie.

Jusqu'ici nous nous sommes contenté, pour ne pas interrompre l'analyse du document par une digression philologique, d'user de la traduction éthiopienne répondant à «tour» ou «maison d'Abraham». Les fragments latins toutefois emploient constamment l'expression *Baris Abraham*,<sup>1</sup> ce qui suppose dans le texte grec dont ils dépendent: Βάρις Ἀβραάμ. L'original sémitique, très probablement hébreu, devait donc avoir *Bîrath-Abraham*, hypothèse pleinement confirmée par un fragment araméen d'une source du «Testament de Lévi» et du «Livre des Jubilés». Lévi raconte que, parti de Béthel avec Juda, ils vinrent loger à la *Bîrath-Abraham* — בבִּית אֲבְרָהָם — chez leur grand-père Isaac, et c'est manifestement à Hébron d'après le «Testament de Lévi» IX, 5.<sup>2</sup>

D'un usage assez répandu à la période post-exilique, le mot *bîrah*, auquel le grec donnait généralement un équivalent dans Βάρις, signifiait une habitation somptueuse dans le goût perse, mais surtout une forteresse, un édifice crénelé assez garanti pour offrir, en ces temps troublés, une résidence, une retraite sûre à quelque personnage important.<sup>3</sup> Par extension, les *Chroniques* l'appliquent au palais de Dieu, c'est-à-dire à l'ensemble des constructions du Temple de Jérusalem (1 *Chron.*, 29 1 19.) Le caractère à la fois sacré et profane de la *Bîrah* d'Hébron, son plan quadrilatère, l'existence de ses portes et de ses créneaux, voilà ce qui transpire du Livre des Jubilés. Regardée comme la résidence d'Abraham et la protection du sépulcre ancestral, elle est un objet de dispute entre Juifs et Iduméens. Si grande que l'on fasse la part de la fantaisie du conteur, il est difficile de lui refuser tout crédit en ce qui concerne la réalité de quelque construction telle qu'une enceinte sacrée autour de la caverne double, à l'époque où il écrivait. Quant à prétendre que cette *Bîrath-Abraham* soit identique au Haram el-Khalil actuel, nous ne le ferons pas, précisément en vertu des analogies que nous présente la *Bîrah* de Néhémie qui gardait le Temple de Jérusalem du côté du Nord.

Restaurée ou fondée par Néhémie, cette forteresse devint l'objet

<sup>1</sup> RÖNSCH, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, p. 52, 66, 74.

<sup>2</sup> CHARLES, *The greek versions of the Testaments of the XII Patr.*, App. III, p. 247.

<sup>3</sup> Voir H. VINCENT sur la *Bîrthâ* de l'Ammonitide dans *Rev. Bibl.*, 1920, p. 189 ss.



de la sollicitude toute particulière des Hasmonéens au point que Josèphe leur en attribue l'érection et la dénomination de Baris.<sup>1</sup> Mais elle n'échappa pas, quelle qu'ait été sa splendeur, aux remaniements radicaux qu'Hérode fit subir aux constructions de la dynastie qu'il avait supplantée autant pour la faire oublier que pour flatter son goût de l'opulence et amadouer ceux des Juifs qui lui étaient opposés. Le Temple de Jérusalem prit part à ce renouveau architectural tandis que l'Antonia supplantait la Birah des Hasmonéens. Quoi de plus naturel que le sanctuaire d'Hébron ne fût point négligé dans cette renaissance et que l'indigence des temps macchabéens ait dû céder là encore devant l'exécution grandiose du plan hérodien? L'histoire est muette sans doute sur le rôle d'Hérode dans cette affaire; les auteurs juifs n'ont pas voulu probablement exalter l'Iduméen à propos de ce lieu saint qui se présente toujours comme un objet de dispute entre Jacob et Edom. Toute obscurité n'a pas été dissipée non plus par l'examen de la *Petite Genèse*, nous en convenons, mais cette analyse nous donne la clef de plus d'une appellation postérieure et de la confusion qui s'est parfois produite sur la localisation de la sépulture d'Abraham. Ce groupement de l'habitation d'Abraham et de son tombeau a dû faire naître la théorie de la sépulture du Patriarche au Térébinthe, le séjour d'Abraham le plus fameux et le plus populaire. Quant à la demeure de Macpélah, nous en retrouvons les échos à travers les siècles. L'apocryphe grec du II<sup>e</sup> siècle, connu sous le titre de *Testament d'Abraham* distingue la maison, οἶκος, de la tente, ἡ σκηνή, plantée au carrefour de Mambré. La «maison sainte» de Samuel bar Simson (1210) est pour le russe Basile (1465) la «maison d'Abraham» identique au Haram el-Khalil. Un Grec de 1253 dit qu'Abraham est enseveli au milieu de sa maison (καὶ μέσον τοῦ οἴκου του ἔναι ὁ τάφος του). Écoutons enfin le fameux voyageur Pietro della Valle (1616): «La maison d'Abraham lorsqu'il demouroit en Ebron est proche de la caverne et unie à present au Temple dans lequel il n'est pas permis d'entrer». Ici, c'est le fortin contigu au Haram qui prétend représenter la demeure patriarcale, mais en dépit de cette légère divergence nous suivons encore là le fil de la tradition qui se rattache à l'*Abramium* des Byzantins et à la *Birath-Abraham* des Jubilés.

<sup>1</sup> *Nehem.*, II, 8, *Antiq. Jud.*, XV, 11, 4; XVIII, 4, 3; *Guerre Juive*, I, 21, 1.

## A RECENTLY DISCOVERED SAMARITAN CHARM

SAMUEL RAFFAELI  
(JERUSALEM)

THE writer possesses a small hematite amulet, recently found in the vicinity of Nablus. It is remarkable in that it is the first known specimen of a bilingual amulet inscribed in Greek and Samaritan.

On the obverse there is the following inscription in Samaritan characters  $\text{אין כאל ישרון}$  (אין כאל ישרון) "There is none like the God of Jeshurun" (Dt. 33, 36); and on the reverse  $\text{ΕΙC ΘΕΟC BOHΘIMAPKIANHN}$  "The One God. Help Marcian."

This piece of hematite appears to have been originally mounted in a metal frame intended to be hung round the neck as a periapt.

The characters on the inscriptions appear to be of the 4<sup>th</sup> or 5<sup>th</sup> century C. E., and the name Marcian recalls the name of Markah the great Samaritan theologian.<sup>1</sup> Markah was the son of Amram son of Seted who lived in the middle of the 4<sup>th</sup> century, about the time of Baba Rabba the son of the High Priest Nathaniel. Markah organised, together with Baba Rabba, the entire Samaritan Liturgy and a certain Commentary on the Bible, fragments of which are still preserved in the British and Berlin Museums.

According to the tradition of the Samaritans the name Markah is another form of the sacred name Moses; and since no Samaritan dares to bear the name of *Mosheh* which is too sacred for ordinary use, Amram called his son *Markah*, replacing the *shin* of *Mosheh* by *resh* and *qof*, (*resh* and *qof* being numerically equivalent to *shin*:  $200 + 100 = 300$ ).

<sup>1</sup> See J. A. Montgomery, *The Samaritans* (Philadelphia, 1907), p. 294.

A similar bilingual inscription was discovered by Professor Clermont Ganneau in 1881 at the ancient Emmaus—Nikopolis on a column, on one side of which were the Greek characters ΕΙC ΘΕΟC "God is one," and on the other side, in ancient Hebrew characters ברוך שמו לעולם (ברוך שמו לעולם) "Blessed be his name for ever."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Archives des Missions Scientifiques et littéraires*. Ser. III, t. 9, p. 277—321.

## THE YEAR'S WORK

(An address at the Sixth General Meeting by the President,  
Professor J. GARSTANG,  
Director of Antiquities, Government of Palestine)

IN accepting your invitation to the Presidency of the Society in this its second year I feel that nothing would be more fitting than to preface such remarks as I shall make this afternoon by a few words about our retiring President.

Père Lagrange is the father of this generation of archaeologists in Palestine where he founded on the 15<sup>th</sup> November 1890 the "École pratique d'études bibliques" in collaboration with a number of other French Dominicans. He was then 35 years of age. His work and publications subsequently bore out fully the promise of his previous studies in the domain of biblical and oriental archaeology.

In 1892 he founded the *Revue Biblique* which he has edited ever since.

In 1900 he inaugurated the publication of a collection of Biblical studies, including Commentaries, Histories &c.

In 1902 he published a Commentary on the Book of Judges.

In 1903 "Studies on Semitic Religions."

In 1904 a volume on "Historical Method."

In 1908 "Ancient Crete,"

and more recently a volume on the History of Religions. All this in addition to his work on the history and texts of the Sacred Books. Père Lagrange is a Corresponding Member of the Institute of France, Honorary member of the Palestine Exploration Fund and of the American Oriental Society and other learned bodies. I think that the Palestine Oriental Society will do itself honour to make a record of the distinguished archaeological and philological career of its first President. Above all Père Lagrange is a candid critic and esteemed friend of us all.



I turn now to work accomplished in the field of archaeology during the past year, and as it will be appropriate to speak also of the future we may confine our attention for the moment to what has happened since the present Government came into being in the middle of last year.

Within a few days of his arrival His Excellency the High Commissioner called for proposals with a view to the organisation of a Department of Antiquities. There was to be no further question of recognising the unique importance and interest of the historical monuments and sites of Palestine, a point of view which, together with colleagues in Jerusalem and at home, we had not ceased to urge upon the British Government since the days when, soon after the war was over, I had been called upon to report upon these matters to the Foreign Office.

Now a new spirit charged the atmosphere, and in rapid succession the Department was organized, an Archaeological Advisory Board was constituted and an Antiquities Ordinance was promulgated. These three steps were momentous. A Department of Antiquities as an independent feature of Government is almost without precedent. His Excellency had recognised that the situation here was not an ordinary one. The universal interest in the Holy Land led not only to that step but to the natural corollary of an Advisory Board in which the interests of the different communities and the societies of foreign countries engaged in archaeological pursuits in this country are represented. The Board has met frequently, its recommendations and decisions have been in all cases unanimous and have been invariably adopted by the Administration. The unity to which the Advisory Board has attained while valuable in itself is a real source of strength to the young Department. Again, the Antiquities Ordinance was based not only upon the collective advice of numerous specialists, both archaeological and legal, but embodied the results of experience in neighbouring countries, enabling us to modify, as occasion required, the provisions that have not worked satisfactorily elsewhere. It is not an unfair compliment to the drafter of the Law to say that it is generally recognised as a good Law, and it is hardly more than a question of regulations to make it a workable code for the protection of the precious monuments and antiquities which are our heritage from the past.

There is one principle which is paramount throughout its clauses—the monuments and antiquities of Palestine belong to Palestine and to Palestinians. The interests of this country are maintained and will be maintained as the first duty of the Administration and without regard at all to the claims of privileged powers or of political influence.

The second principle is the encouragement of a practical kind offered to scientific workers. The days are over when the individual could be allowed to turn over ancient sites in search of antiquities for their own sake alone. The results of an excavation are to be judged not alone by the objects discovered, but more by the information as to the circumstances of discovery to be gleaned only by most patient method. The relation of an object to its surroundings is of far greater importance to history than the object itself. The learned professor and the enthusiastic amateur are equally capable of doing incalculable damage to historical evidence if untrained in archaeological method. Consequently the permits to excavate will be issued only to scientific bodies who will guarantee the excavators' competence. On the other hand the policy of the Department is to facilitate, in every way in which the Government can afford, the task of excavators working under these conditions.

Involved in the operation of the new Law there is the registration of historical sites, and the inventories of dealers' stocks and private collections. The work is proceeding and in some respects rapid progress has been made. We now feel able, and feel it to be desirable, to publish an interim list of historical sites which will commence to appear shortly in the official gazette, beginning with the monuments of Jerusalem. Historical sites or buildings still in religious use are excluded from the ordinary application of the Law, though special powers are provided to ensure their conservation and protection.

I have alluded to the policy of preserving in Palestine all the best and all the most historical antiquities which the country produces; this involves the establishment of a central museum, a task which has been entrusted to my colleague Mr. Phythian-Adams. An immense impetus was given to his effort by the recovery last year of over 120 cases of antiquities which had lain hidden in the city during the War. Some of these antiquities had formed the nucleus of a local collection in other days, while others seem to have been

the fruits of recent excavations packed ready for transport to Constantinople. There is no catalogue and the provenance of each object had to be studiously determined by reference to publications and by comparative methods. Mr. Phythian-Adams has surmounted these difficulties, with the result that more than 6,000 objects were catalogued and a proper inventory drawn up during the winter months. Some of the specimens are now arranged in the new cases, which have been designed and made in Jerusalem. A more complete display has been held back by reasons not attributable to the Keeper of Museums, but these difficulties are also overcome and during the present summer we trust to be able to ask His Excellency to declare the Museum open to the public.

We propose to provide a home of a semi-permanent character in Jerusalem for only the smaller and more delicate objects and for objects of general historical interest or of special value. Local objects, for instance, architectural pieces and sculptures not of unusual merit, will be cared for, so far as possible, in the localities and near to the spot where they are found. The interest of such objects would be largely diminished by removing them from their surroundings, and it is desirable that each civic community should have its local collection to illustrate and stimulate interest in the past of its surroundings; so that the policy of local museums is adopted and steps are being taken to inaugurate such at Acre, Athlit, Ascalon and Tiberias. Needless to say the authority of the Department, through the Keeper of Museums, will be retained over these branch collections, but an effort will be made to render such local museums self-supporting and a source of local pride. In Jerusalem objects of architectural character and larger sculptures will be grouped, if possible, within the Citadel, wherein we should personally like to see housed also the central museum of Palestine. The rooms in the Hippicus Tower have been prepared by the Department for exhibition purposes and we look forward to taking further steps in that direction.

In the work of conservation a good deal has been initiated but it will be some time before results become visible. Repairs have, however, been executed to dangerous spots in the fabric of the Citadel and the City Walls of Jerusalem through the activity of the "Pro-Jerusalem Society," to whom the task of maintaining the

historical municipal buildings of Jerusalem has been confided by agreement with this Department and aided by Government subsidies.

At Acre, thanks to the initiative of the Deputy District Governor, considerable progress has been made with clearing the débris from the crypts of the fine mediaeval building for which that place is famous. The engineers of the Public Works Department are safeguarding the stability of the structure. It is here that we propose to establish a local museum.

At Ramleh our attention has been called to the serious and almost dangerous condition of that very beautiful monument known as the Crusaders' Tower or otherwise the "Tower of the Forty Martyrs," and in collaboration with the Public Works Department and the Waqf authorities we trust to be able to do what is indispensable to safeguard the fabric and appearance of this monument. It is an admirable example of the work of the period: it recalls structurally and in appearance the Campanile of Southern France of Romanesque style while free from the restless effect of over elaboration. We may well believe that it is the product of Mohammedan art executed by European masons.

At Ain Duk, near Jericho, the French Archaeological School (*École Biblique de St. Étienne*) have completed under Père Vincent and his colleagues, the clearance of the very ancient and interesting synagogue of that site where, as a result of the war, certain portions of the mosaic floor had been disclosed. A full description of the inscriptions and decorations of this very interesting floor must be naturally reserved to the excavators themselves. During the course of the work it became obvious that the mosaics would not resist exposure to the atmosphere and it became necessary for their conservation to take them up, a task which was skilfully performed by Mr. Mackay, chief inspector of this Department. We hope at a near date to consolidate and arrange these specimens within the Citadel. A debt of gratitude is owed to the local proprietors for their good will in this matter; one may mention specially by name, Mr. Halil Zaki El Daoudi.

Other works of conservation on a smaller scale have been initiated, notably at Jifna, Ramallah, Tiberias and Caesarea. In all these cases, the policy of this Department is to endeavour to interest the local authority and notables in the monuments of their own districts; this



is not merely a method of husbanding the resources which the Government is able to put at our disposal, necessary and desirable though that is; it is equally desirable that everyone should awake to a lively sense of the value of history particularly in this country where the whole environment is historical, and there is no method so effective, it seems to me, as that of encouraging each and everyone to take a proper share in the very special responsibilities which devolve upon all who dwell in this land of Palestine.

In the field of excavations I shall be brief, for it is only fair that the results of all excavations should in the first instance be regarded as the copyright of the excavators. The "Palestine Exploration Fund" has, with the approval of this Department, opened an extensive excavation at Ascalon where work has been resumed after having been suspended for the winter. The immediate results there have been the uncovering of historical buildings of Graeco-Roman and Byzantine periods and the very evident trace of Philistine occupation. After studying the first results the work now resumed is directed to establishing a relationship between the remains of the Philistines and those of their predecessors on the site, also to a comparative study between the traces of the Philistines at Ascalon and the contemporary evidences from other parts of the Philistine Plain and from the Eastern Mediterranean.

At Tiberias the "Palestine Jewish Exploration Society" made last year a successful series of soundings, disclosing remains clearly to be identified with the period of the Talmud. The same Society under Dr. Slousch is now commencing excavations on the site examined last year, and is extending its investigations within a somewhat wider area in the vicinity of Tiberias.

At Gethsemane the Franciscan Custody has completed, under special arrangements with this Department, the excavation of a very early church, probably of the 4<sup>th</sup> century, in which there may be traced three apses, the whole of the original outline, and various fragments of the original pavement.

In regard to the future, the Franciscan Custody will shortly recommence its excavations under Père Orfali on the interesting site of the Synagogue of Capernaum (Tell Hum), and the University Museum of Philadelphia is preparing to commence extensive work at Beisan under Dr. Fisher during the present summer. The site of

Megiddo has been provisionally reserved for the University of Chicago and that of Samaria for the University of Harvard.

This brief outline of the year's work in archaeology would not be complete without a reference to the activities of the various archaeological societies, the centre of whose work is in Jerusalem.

In connexion with the "École Biblique de St. Étienne" I would mention particularly the very important "Studies of Monuments in Jerusalem" by Pères Vincent and Abel and the further important piece of work in relation to the Mosque at Hebron in which Mr. Mackay of this Department has co-operated. The old established "American School of Oriental Studies" has resumed and continued its labours unremittingly; Dr. Albright whom we welcome as Director is one of ourselves, and we hope he will not fail to give us an account of the very important topographical and other researches in which he has been engaged.

The American School also attracted to Jerusalem last year two very distinguished colleagues. Dr. Peters and Professor Clay, and we were privileged also to have in our midst for a short time Professor Breasted of the University of Chicago. Their visits were appreciated and will be remembered by us all.

A new feature of intellectual life in Jerusalem was largely due to Dr. Clay and it was no less than the founding of this Society whose second year we commence to-day. The Palestine Oriental Society fills a role of no ordinary character: it is the common meeting ground of all the different societies and of all the archaeologists and students of the Near East. The opportunity before this Society is very great, and it should be our effort to maintain the standard of the papers and the interest of these gatherings. It is clearly an immense advantage to all men of science to be able to meet and discuss their points of view and exchange thoughts. It should play the part in Palestine that the *Académie* plays in Paris or the British Academy in London.

I am also strongly persuaded that the ends we have all in view in promoting the objects of this Society will be very much stimulated by further opportunities of meeting in informal discussion, which is hardly possible in these sessions where we are all come specially to learn the newest results of individual research. I therefore propose at an early date to place at the disposal of members of this Society

and of other intellectual associations of Palestine a meeting place within this building where at fixed weekly or fortnightly intervals those desirous may be assured of an interesting and enlightening evening devoted to intellectual enjoyment. We all feel the want of such an opportunity and it seems to me that the British School of Archaeology could not adopt a better policy than that of providing facilities for such meetings, and I shall personally do all I can to make these evenings a real feature of our life in Jerusalem. I trust in response that all those who are members of this Society and others to whom I shall address invitations will accept them in the interests of ourselves and of those who will come after us.

We have accepted by our presence in Palestine a heritage of no ordinary value from the Past. The eyes of the whole world are on us. Let us see to it that the trust does not suffer in our hands.

## HAUNTED SPRINGS AND WATER DEMONS IN PALESTINE

T. CANAAN  
(JERUSALEM)

PALESTINIAN demonology, which is only a part of the general oriental demonology, is a very well worked out science. I do not intend in this paper to make a study of it in detail; I shall only try to give one phase of it: "Haunted Springs and Water Demons." I include under this study running springs (*ên*, pl. *'în*) as well as living wells. The Arabic word *bîr*, which means the latter, stands also at the same time for cisterns.

It is an old and wide spread belief in all Semitic countries, that springs, cisterns and all running waters are inhabited. We rarely find a holy shrine which is not directly attached to a tree, cave, spring or well (for the explanation of this *vide infra*). This idea has spread also to non-Semitic races.

One asks: How has it come that this belief is so well founded in mythology and superstition? I shall try to answer this question.

The *djinn*—demons—live in the first place in the interior of the earth, whence they come out.<sup>1</sup> The Hebrew *ôb*, the Syriac *zakkûrâ* and the Arabic pre-Islamic *'ahlul'art*<sup>2</sup> illustrate this.<sup>3</sup> Up to the present day we meet with names for the demons which point to their origin:

*al-aruâh el-arđîyê* = earth spirits

*al-aruâh es-suflîyê* = lower spirits (subterranean spirits)

*al-aruâh ed-djahannamîyê* = hellish spirits.

<sup>1</sup> T. Canaan, *Aberglaube und Volksmedezin im Lande der Bibel* (Hamburg, 1914).

<sup>2</sup> W. R. Smith, *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Luke 8 29.



They come from the lower world and therefore we meet them generally in places which have a direct connexion with the lower regions: trees whose roots go down into the interior of the earth; cracks, caves, springs and wells which have a direct or indirect connexion with the above named original abode of the demons.<sup>1</sup>

Springs which appear suddenly in the dry country and continue to pour out their running waters for the benefit of human beings and of vegetation, were and are still in their origin and in their continuous flow a mystery to the oriental mind. This was the first reason for assigning to them some supernatural power—a numen which was finally depotentized, becoming a spirit or a demon; and finally the above mentioned explanation was worked out.

But there is another explanation or rather another phase of the above mentioned explanation. We know that the planets, in whose hands human fortune and misfortune lie, were divided by all Semitic races of antiquity, and are still by the Palestinian, into good and bad planets. To each one of these heavenly bodies, be it good or bad, language, science, metal, colour, trees, herbs, fruits, and animals, elements, are assigned.<sup>2</sup> According to the planet to which they belong these objects are good or bad.

The two bad planets are Mars and Saturn, but the latter is the most ill-omened one. Now we read in *ghâyatûl-hakîm*<sup>3</sup> that springs, wells, caves, underground canals, and lonely valleys,<sup>4</sup> are assigned to this ill-omened planet. It is to be noted that every thing mentioned in this list has a direct connection with demons, talismans, or sorcery.

This explains why wells and springs are thought to be always haunted and this belief is not at all a new one, characteristic only of the Palestinian. It formed a foundation stone of ancient superstition and mythology. Even in the Old and New Testament we have references to this belief; the demons are even characterized as loving

<sup>1</sup> In one of the prayers in the Greek Prayer-Book (*adjiâzmâtârî* Jerusalem, 1884, pp. 180—185) eighteen places where demons live are enumerated; in fourteen of them the above conditions are fulfilled.

<sup>2</sup> For further details about this point see Canaan, *Aberglaube*,

<sup>3</sup> *El-madjritî*.

<sup>4</sup> Other things belonging to Saturn are: the Coptic and the Hebrew languages, the spleen, black mountains, deserts, graves, the magnet, all black stones, black iron, the awl, and the raven.

water and searching for it.<sup>1</sup> Very interesting is the teaching in the Prayer Book of the Greek Church,<sup>2</sup> where all sort of waters<sup>3</sup>—springs, wells, cisterns, pits, seas, rivers, pools—are thought to be inhabited.<sup>4</sup>

While most of the springs<sup>5</sup> are known by all the surrounding villages to be inhabited, there are others where only few persons have encountered at different times the guarding spirit. The most important conditions for a water course to be inhabited are the following two. Each one alone suffices to attract the djinn:

1. Sources originating in a more or less deserted place, or in a thicket of trees.

2. That the rays of the sun do not penetrate to the real source. This condition is fulfilled when a small cave, large crack, or an old canal forms the entrance to the spring.<sup>6</sup>

The above mentioned conditions,—loneliness, desertedness, darkness, cracks, caves, canals, trees, combined with a spring, assure the habitation of that place. For every object with such a situation is there by a favourite abiding place of the spirits, since it has on the one hand a direct communication with the interior of the earth, and on the other hand belongs to the planet Saturn.

A spring in the neighbourhood of a ruin, grave or *welî* is also inhabited and generally by the soul of the *welî* or of those who died in that ruin.

Special attention must be paid to two sorts of springs—periodical and hot springs. The abnormality in both—hot water in the one and the periodical flow of the other—has keyed the oriental imagination

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Luke 8 29, 33.

<sup>2</sup> *Adjîâzmâtârî el-keûr*, pp. 180—182 and 195.

<sup>3</sup> It is very interesting to note that, with few exceptions, all the objects named in the list of this book as being inhabited correspond with the list of *Ghâyatu'l hakîm* above mentioned.

<sup>4</sup> In the prayer of St. Gabrianus (Arab. text) we find the sea as the only representative of inhabited waters.

<sup>5</sup> From some names used in the Bible for springs we may conclude that the inhabitants of Palestine had then the same belief: 'En-dôr, "spring of dwelling," 1 Sam. 28 7; Ba'al-peraşîm, "Owner of the outflow" 2 Sam. 5 20; Ba'al hamôn, "Owner of the torrent," Can. 8 11 (L. B. Patou, *Annual of Am. School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem*, 1920).

<sup>6</sup> Even common cisterns which are built under a house, and where the only opening to the water is inside of a room, so that the rays of the sun never reach the water, are used for various medical and magic purposes.

to its highest pitch and has resulted in a beautiful, superstitious explanation.

Periodical springs especially perplexed many minds: Why does the water of 'ên-fawâr,<sup>1</sup> for example, flow now? Why did it not flow a few hours ago? At last they found an explanation which corresponded exactly to their demonology and was absolutely in accord with the religious belief of their ancestors. They now think that 'ên-fawâr is inhabited by two spirits, a *hurr* "free man" (master) and an '*abd*, "servant." The first is a white person, the second a negro (also slave-born) as the Arabic words themselves indicate. These two "powerful spirits" are continually fighting each other. When the *hurr* gains the victory he allows the water to flow for the benefit of thirsty mankind. But soon the '*abd* rises and resumes the battle. As soon as he overpowers the *hurr* he shuts off the blessing to avenge himself on the human race.<sup>2</sup>

This representation of

good against evil,  
white against black,  
angels against devils,  
light against darkness,  
upper against lower world and  
God against Satan<sup>3</sup>

is a very old idea in Semitic religions and we could not have it better pictured than as reproduced by the simple imagination of a Palestinian *fellâh*.

It is not necessary to have two anthropoid spirits inhabiting a spring. The importance lies in the colours white and black. Thus we find a black and a white sheep inhabiting 'ên ed-djôz.<sup>4</sup>

Naturally a question arises: Are all periodical springs inhabited by good and bad spirits which cause their abnormal flow? I must answer this question in the negative. Other explanations are easily found. 'ên silwân, also called 'ên imm ed-daradj, for example, was formerly

<sup>1</sup> The continuation of 'ên-fâra.

<sup>2</sup> Canaan, *Aberglaube*.

<sup>3</sup> There are many references in the Bible which point to this representation. I will mention only a few: Job. 18 18; Zech. 3 1; Rom. 16 20; Ps. 140 1; Prov. 8 13; Is. 7 15; Jerem. 38 4; Eph. 6 12.

<sup>4</sup> Near Râmallâh.

guarded by a bad spirit appearing in the form of a camel. He used to drink a lot of water from time to time, thus stopping the flow for a short period. In the case of 'ên sâbûna,<sup>1</sup> which is inhabited by a whole djinn family known by the name 'êlet za'rûrah the water dries up at those times when all the members of the family come to drink; therefore they say: *wirdat-hâ 'êlet za'rûrah*.<sup>2</sup>

The hot springs were always a great puzzle to the oriental mind. Accordingly the Palestinian asks himself how it is that the water of the springs near Tiberias comes directly from the earth in a boiling state? Here again he solved the question. There are a great number of demons who continually heat the water before it penetrates to the surface. The fuel is brought from a great distance. In the case of the springs of Tiberias it comes from a cave in the valley Ed-djâi<sup>3</sup> near Dêr diwân.<sup>4</sup> King Solomon ordered these *djinn* to perform this piece of work in order to give the inhabitants of Palestine a natural hot bath. And as these demons are blind and deaf<sup>5</sup> they do not yet know that their master, King Solomon, has died, and dreading his punishment they still continue to work. A similar belief exists about the Turkish baths. The inhabiting *djinn*—and every bath is inhabited—help to heat the water, *sukkânûh byikmûh*.<sup>6</sup>

Special mention of 'iûn el-haşr<sup>7</sup> should be made. The peasant understands by this expression springs where at no time of the day or of the year do the sun's rays reach the source. The water is used to cure suppression and retention of urine. In order that such water shall preserve its curative action the sun must never shine over it; so it is fetched only after sunset. If the place to which this healing water is to be carried cannot be reached during one night, the jar is hidden during the day in a dark place, and as soon as the sun

<sup>1</sup> Dêr ghassâne.

<sup>2</sup> "The family of *zârûrah* (medlar tree) came to it (the water)."

<sup>3</sup> The valley is inhabited by a much dreaded *mârid*. The inhabitants of Dêr diwân pretend that although a large number of cattle gather every evening in the cave and spend the night there, the cave is swept clean by those *djinn* every morning and all the dung disappears.

<sup>4</sup> According to the peasants of Battîr the *djinn* of Tiberias come every night to 'ên djâmî' to carry away the dung.

<sup>5</sup> One of the many illustrations which show how the Palestinian attributes to the *djinn* human qualities, weaknesses, and diseases.

<sup>6</sup> Translation: Its inhabitants (the demons) heat it (the bath).

<sup>7</sup> Translation: Springs of suppression (of urine).



goes down the journey begins anew. A curious fact about 'iûn el-ḥaṣr, which was told me by a man of Bêt-Surîk, is that springs with a composite name, where the first part is *bêt*, can not be—although they fulfill all the above named conditions—'iûn ḥaṣr. It was impossible for me to get any explanation for this belief.

Some springs belonging to this group are: Bir es-saḥar (to the north of Dêr ṭarif), 'ên abu niâq, (Dêr ghassâneh), 'ên el-wihra (Kefr tût) and 'ên şôba.<sup>1</sup>

If we turn to study the number, shapes, customs, colour and actions of the djinn who haunt these places, we may divide them at once into two major groups:

1. Springs guarded by good spirits, the souls of holy men buried in the neighbourhood, or other saints.<sup>2</sup> There are fifteen such cases in my list.

2. Evil demons.

1. This belief is common among Christians and Mohammedans. Some wells and springs inhabited by Christians saints are: Bir 'ôna<sup>3</sup> (Bêt-djâla) by the Virgin Mary, 'ên kârim also by the Virgin; 'ên Kibriân<sup>4</sup> by St. Gabrianus (St. Cyprianus).

Springs and wells in which Mohammedan saints dwell are:

'ên qîna by el-welî Abu'l'ênên,

'ên el-bîrêh by shêkh Aḥmad,

Bir es-saḥar by el-welî Shu'êb,

Bir Ayûb by en-nebî Ayûb,

Bir sindjil by esh-shêkh Şâleh<sup>5</sup> (or, as others think, by en-nabî Yûsif).

These men of God<sup>6</sup> appear in the same form as they did in their lifetime and they try always to help human creatures. A girl of Siloah having been maltreated by her step-mother fled and threw herself into Bir Ayûb. Before she took her last step she asked the

<sup>1</sup> Some of these are more important and more used than others. The most important one of the list is 'ên şôba.

<sup>2</sup> The same idea prevailed in biblical times: B'er Elîm, "well of gods" Is. 15 8 Elîm, "gods," Ex. 15 27; Nu. 33 9—10; 'ên Shemesh, "spring of the sun," Jos. 15 7.

<sup>3</sup> It is curious that some believe they have seen an 'abd.

<sup>4</sup> Between Bêt-djâla and el-Khaḍr.

<sup>5</sup> Some Mohammedans believe that in the neighbourhood of Sindjil, Joseph was thrown by his brethren into a pit (perhaps into this well). 'Omar Barghuti.

<sup>6</sup> Only in one case out of one hundred and twenty does an angel haunt a spring ('ên maşîûn, according to Tîâb of Râmallâh).

help and the protection of this saint, and she felt as she was falling down that that venerable *shêkh* took her in his arms,<sup>1</sup> and, placing her on a stone step, just above the water level, told her: "Do not be afraid, my child; soon you will be again in your father's house." A few hours later her anxious father, discovering that she was still living, threw down a rope and drew her up.<sup>2</sup>

Some of these springs show a special miracle on the day consecrated to the holy person who guards them. Thus the water of Bîr 'ôna rises to the brim on the Virgin's day<sup>3</sup> and the stones at the well's mouth are dyed red.<sup>4</sup> This sort of animation of lifeless objects is met with in different phases of Palestinian folk-lore.

Such springs should never be approached irreverently. Therefore no pious woman would ever come near or touch such a spring while "impure" through her menstrual blood. If she is careless, the holy man who dwells in that water will afflict her with some bodily ailments, or by stopping the flow of the source punish all that village. In the midst of the vineyards of Bêtûnia is the source of Khirbet nûta which is guarded by the soul of *esh-shêkh Şâleh*. From time to time the water gets scanty and may even stop flowing. This is always thought to result when an unclean woman approaches the opening. Once the water stopped flowing and as the inhabitants of Bêtûnia searched in vain for the impure woman, a sheep was offered to *shêkh Şâleh* and the source was well cleared out, and the water flowed again, even more abundantly than before.<sup>5</sup>

Among all the holy persons whose spirits dwell in springs there are only two females in my list: St. Mary (in two cases) and *es-sitt Mu'minah*<sup>6</sup> ('ên el-*hadjar* in Dêr ghassânêh).

<sup>1</sup> Christians have the same belief. The son of el-Qandalafî fell accidentally into a cistern and was saved by a holy man. The same thing happened in Dâr ed-*daw* to another child. The *shêkhs* or holy men are described nearly always as wearing white clothes (Imm. Iliâs).

<sup>2</sup> The second day after the accident I was called to see the girl, who was not feeling quite well, and I heard the story from her mouth.

<sup>3</sup> On the eighth of September (Jul. Calendar).

<sup>4</sup> Most probably a vestige of menstruation, as will be pointed out later on.

<sup>5</sup> See Canaan, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

<sup>6</sup> It is curious that in both of these cases bad spirits appear sometimes in the same springs. In Bîr 'ôna, generally haunted by the Virgin Mary, some have seen an *'abd*; and in 'ên el-*hadjar* (Dêr ghassânêh) guarded by Sitt Mu'minah—a *mârid* appears at times.

2. Sources guarded by evil *djinn*. Under this class we have the very bad demons as well as the partly harmful ones. They take different forms when they appear. Some have the shapes of animals—sheep, cock, hen, chicken, dog, camel, gazelle, donkey, goat, mouse, monkey or serpent.<sup>1</sup> Others look like negroes and negresses, and still others have the dreadful shapes of the monstrous *ghûl*, *ghûlê* and *mârid*. This last group is the most harmful, and special care has to be taken when one encounters *el-ghûl*, who is continually looking for his prey.

Spirits appearing in the form of animals are not necessarily bad demons: they may even be indifferent to human beings, or even good-natured. When spirits in animal shapes are described as white they belong to the latter, when black to the former category. An exception is the camel, which always represents a bad demon. Even in the explanations of dreams given by the *fellâhîn* at present camels are always a bad omen.<sup>2</sup>

An intermediate place between the two above-mentioned classes is taken by those springs which are inhabited by women,<sup>3</sup> generally in the form of brides.<sup>4</sup> These spirits are almost always described as having a majestic stature and a charming form, wearing beautiful cloths and costly adornments. Very often they sit on a stone beside the flowing water and comb their beautiful long hair, which hangs partly over their shoulders and partly over their breast. These females have a particular inclination to human beings, following and imploring them to come and live with them. They promise men all sorts of riches and comforts and are very harsh towards women. If once entangled a person may disappear for several years, as the case

<sup>1</sup> In the Bible we have several springs which were guarded, as their names show, by animals: 'ên-<sup>s</sup>eglaïm, "Spring of two calves," Ez. 47 10; 'ên-gedi, "Spring of the kid," Jos. 15 62; 'ên-haḳḳôrê, "Spring of the quail (or partridge)," Ju. 15 19; 'ên-hattannîn, "Spring of the dragon," Ne. 2 13. (*Annual of the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem*, 1920.—L. B. Paton.)

<sup>2</sup> The old Arabs had the same belief about the vâmel. See "*Taṭîr el anâm fî ta'bîr el-manâm*" by 'Abd el-ghanî en-nâblasî I 127 etc.

<sup>3</sup> Even in the Bible we have reference to a well haunted by a woman in Jos. 19 8, Ba'alatb'er, "Mistress of the well."

<sup>4</sup> Arabic 'arûs, pl. 'arâyis. The clothes of these "brides" are like those used by brides of the neighbouring villages, except that they are richer in decoration and of a superior quality.

of the bride who inhabits 'ên el-ḥammâm<sup>1</sup> shows, where a man disappeared for seven years. When he came back he related his story. The *djinnîyât*<sup>2</sup> employ sometimes different tricks to entangle men. In the case of 'ên ed-djôz<sup>3</sup> the passer by observes at times a black she-goat. If he tries to catch her, she jumps from one place to another, thus leading him on and on to a deserted spot, where she changes into a bride who tries to charm and thus to gain him.<sup>4</sup>

One may recognize these *djinn* ladies<sup>5</sup> from their eyes. The pupils are perpendicularly elongated.<sup>6</sup> A human being may escape their clutches if in the moment of temptation he repeats the name of God, a saint, the Virgin, the Cross, or says a prayer. If, on the other hand, he commits adultery with such a female *djinn*, he is lost.

These spirits, although not so bad as the 'abd and the *ghûl* group, may follow an escaped man and inflict upon him disease and weakness, even death.<sup>7</sup> Some of them are described as drying up from time to time the water of springs. Such an event happens inevitably if they should be provoked by women approaching the place during their impure days. In Djifna the priest has to go on such an occasion to the dry spring to repeat prayers and burn incense, and thus reconcile the *djinnîyé* or force her to let the water flow.

<sup>1</sup> Bir zêt.

<sup>2</sup> Fem. Plur. of *djinn*.

<sup>3</sup> According of Tîab of Râmallâh. But see above, p. 87.

<sup>4</sup> Demons are thought in Palestine to have the ability of changing their shapes.

<sup>5</sup> According to the wife of Ya'qûb abu er-rukab (Râmallâh).

<sup>6</sup> The same characteristic is assigned to the *ghûlê*.

<sup>7</sup> The following story is an example: Ya'qûb abu er-rukab went one day very early in the morning to gather wood from the gardens of 'ên el-qaşr. He fastened his donkey to a bush near the spring. As soon as he had sufficient wood for a load, he searched, but absolutely in vain, for his animal. At last he crossed himself and said: *bism es-şalib el-ḥayy*, "in the name of the living Cross." At once the donkey was there where he had tied him. On the way back he felt an unseen power troubling him. Soon afterwards a female voice called him by his name: "Oh Ya'qûb, wait a moment." He stopped and a beautiful bride, overloaded with gold and jewels, walked up to him. The frightened *ḥattâb* (wood-cutter) knew that he had to do with a female demon. She implored him with her melodious voice to throw away his axe and follow her. But as he had not yet lost his presence of mind, he crossed himself repeatedly and said a prayer, and she vanished away. When he reached home, he spoke disconnectedly and was completely changed, since he talked only about the beauties of the "bride of 'ên el-qaşr." She afflicted her escaped prey with blindness, and soon afterwards he died (related by his own wife).



In one case, Bir abu s'hêl, the inhabiting female, called 'Ammâriyé<sup>1</sup> tells the future of the inhabitants of that village. If she is heard weeping or mourning, somebody in that village will surely die; if on the other hand she is heard singing, some good thing will take place.<sup>2</sup>

It is a most interesting fact that among one hundred and twenty springs which I have listed, fifty-four are supposed to be inhabited by females (belonging to this group).<sup>3</sup> Among these springs are: 'ên el-qasr, 'ên el-lôze, 'ên tarfida, 'ên mindjid, 'ên mizrâb, 'ên el-waladjé, 'ên el-hannîye, 'ên battir, etc. These spirits are—as already stated—very charming. The following story shows that they are at times refractory in love. Why and when such a condition happens I could not find out. While Husên from el-Waladjé was on night duty protecting the gardens of 'ên hantash against thieves, he beheld a beautiful and charming female sitting on a stone at the source of the spring, combing her long hair. He fell in love with her and gently approaching her, begged her to accept him as a lover. As she showed no inclination towards him, despite all his requests, he committed suicide by cutting his throat, as he could live no longer without this enticing creature.

In analysing the shapes which the inhabiting spirits take when they appear to human beings we find that in 40 cases out of 88 (*i. e.* about half) female forms are chosen. If the instances of holy men whose spirits still haunt springs and all the cases where the sex is not specified are subtracted, we find that 80 *per cent* of the spirits are in female form.

When the colour of the demon is specified, we meet only with the two antagonistic colours, white and black. The first one stands for good and the other for evil spirits.

If we study the question from the point of view of the number of spirits which inhabit one water course, we find that most of the springs and wells are inhabited by a single demon. But there are some, in my collection 25 out of 120, where several live together. This last category we may divide into two subdivisions:

<sup>1</sup> 'Ummâr (pl. of 'ammâr which is the masc. of 'ammâriyé) is the name given generally to *djinn* who live in ruins or deserted houses.

<sup>2</sup> 'Omar Barghuti.

<sup>3</sup> The three cases, where the holy Virgin (twice) and es-sitt Mu'minah (once) haunt springs, are not counted among the number mentioned above. Out of the 54 we have only two black women.

1. Springs inhabited by two spirits, which represent—with one exception<sup>1</sup>—a bad black and another good white one. I have six such cases.

2. Springs haunted by many *djinn*. Generally they are members of one family and in four out of thirteen cases belonging to this subdivision the *djinn* have taken the shape of a hen with her chickens.<sup>2</sup> It is believed by some that if a human being has the exceptional chance of catching one of these chickens, it will change at once into a lump of gold.<sup>3</sup>

These spirits, to whatever category they belong, appear—as all the demons—only during the night and in the dusk. They also are only to be seen when a lonely traveller passes by, as they never like to face several human beings at once. Many of them try to injure the passer-by by frightening him with their noise, shape or misbehaviour. If they attack him, he gets sick or may even die.

If a human being has the opportunity of meeting one of them, he observes that the opening of the spring, guarded by this spirit, has changed to a large doorlike crack, and sometimes a peep inside will reveal great riches. A woman passing near the spring of Ḥalḥûl just before the sun began to be visible, saw grazing beside the water a sheep which to her great astonishment had rushed out from a rather large crack. She looked through this opening and beheld to her amazement heaps of gold, silver and precious stones. Without hesitation she rushed in to get as much as possible of these wordly riches. But with one jump the sheep darted in, and the crack closed. She had to tear her clothing, which was caught in the crack, to get free.<sup>4</sup>

These spirits go out during the night and act quite free by; but they never go far from the spring. Some of them look for grass and herbs (sheep, camel, gazelle, donkey, etc). The hen takes her chickens and goes in search of grain. Brides and young females are mostly described as combing their hair. *Shikhs welis* and saints are in meditation,

<sup>1</sup> In one case of a female and male spirit living together, 'ên el-farkha wid-dik, (near Salt) inhabited by a cock and a hen (Imm. Elias H.)

<sup>2</sup> Other sources belonging to this subdivision are inhabited by camels, a flock of sheep, *djân* (pl. of *djinn*), the family *za'rûra* etc.

<sup>4</sup> 'Omar Barghuti.

<sup>3</sup> Imm. Djordj M.

while *'abds*, *mârids* and *ghûls* roam around the source searching for their prey.<sup>1</sup>

Very interesting is the story I heard lately from a woman of Siloam.<sup>2</sup> The spring of Jericho is inhabited by a woman who once a year for 10—12 hours has her menstrual period. At this time the water is tinted red. But this redness occurs only during the night of that day. At daybreak the normal colour returns. This is the only case I have known, where popular superstition gives female spirits the human capacity for menstruation. A vestige of this belief is perhaps to be found in the superstition regarding Bîr 'ôna, inhabited by St. Mary.

The following belief about Hammâm esh-shifâ is a very primitive conception of the animation of water.<sup>3</sup> The Mohammedan women of Jerusalem go on the tenth of Moḥarram<sup>4</sup> and take a bath, as it is believed that the waters of Zemzem overflow on this day and mix with the waters of this bath,<sup>5</sup> also called Hammâm 'ashûra.<sup>6</sup> According to some even 'ên imm ed-daradj (Silowân) receives on this day some water from Zemzem.<sup>7</sup>

A Mohammedan lady<sup>8</sup> whom I asked lately about Hammâm 'ashûra gave me another explanation, quite different from that which I have already mentioned. The prophet Job, who was afflicted with the worst kinds of skin eruptions, took a bath every day, but without any

<sup>1</sup> In some springs, 'ên Djariût for example, the passer-by will see a whole demon wedding procession, and is able to hear their songs and see their dances.

<sup>2</sup> Imm. Dâhûd the wife of 'Abd.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. also Bîr 'ôna and the signs on the Virgin's day.

<sup>4</sup> The anniversary of the death of Ḥusên the son of Faṭmê, the daughter of the Prophet.

<sup>5</sup> As a proof of the truth of their superstition the following story is told: An Indian pilgrim lost his water-cup in Bîr Zemzem. One year afterwards he happened to be in Jerusalem, and while on the day of 'Ashûrah he was taking a hot Turkish bath in Hammâm esh-shifâ, the bath-keeper, drawing water from the well, fished out a cup. This was recognized at once by the Indian pilgrim to be his own cup, which fell down into Zemzem while he was at Mekka. This proved to everybody that the water of the holy Zemzem mixes on this day with the waters of this well.

<sup>6</sup> From 'ashara, "ten," i. e. the tenth of the month.

<sup>7</sup> Some Mohammedans believe that on this day the water of this holy well at Mekka mixes with all springs of Mohammedan countries, thus giving every Moslem the opportunity of drinking from Zemzem.

<sup>8</sup> Ḥustun R.

result. It happened that on the tenth of Moharram he took a bath in Hammâm esh-shifâ with the result that he was cured. This of course proved to all that this water has on this day particular curative action. This offers a marked parallel to John 5 2.<sup>1</sup>

Another observation is not without interest: 'ên Silwân was formerly inhabited—according to some peasants—by a demon in the shape of a camel. This camel died. In its place now lines a hen with her chickens, *i. e.* the place of one demon was taken by several, very much as in Matth. 12 45.<sup>2</sup> Everybody I asked informed me that no camel has ever appeared to anybody during recent years in that spring. The bubbling sound of the water is explained as being the sound of the chickens.<sup>3</sup> Death of demons is also known in other cases.

Nobody dares to approach a spring and take water without first repeating the name of God or that of the saint living in that place.<sup>4</sup> This rule is specially important during night-time or when one passes quite alone near water which flows in a deserted place. If such a precaution is not taken, one is sure to be troubled by the demons. If the guardian spirits are excited in any way the intruder will be surely punished. We have seen already some examples of this conception. Another one is that if a person urinates in flowing water he will get some genito-urinary trouble.

I do not doubt that several of the springs and wells which are thought at present to be inhabited were believed in former times to be sacred, and were devoted to the cult of one of the numerous gods of Palestine. And it is not improbable that some of the old deities continue to haunt the same springs, although ages have passed by. Of course the name, the character, and the manner of appearance have changed, but the fundamental thought still exists. This is only one of the many survivals which point to the primitive religious practises of Palestine and still more or less known at present.

This explains why many waters are used at present, as they were in Bible times, for medicinal purposes: the *'ân el-haşr* have been

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<sup>1</sup> While in John 5 2 the curative power was due to an angel, in this case the apparent cause is not seen. We must probably look for the explanation to Zemzem.

<sup>2</sup> Also Luke 11 26.

<sup>3</sup> Hens and chickens represent bad spirits.

<sup>4</sup> A custom which is becoming gradually less frequent.



mentioned; Siloam and the bath of Sitti Mariam<sup>1</sup>—especially the first—are renowned for their help in cases of sterility in women.<sup>2</sup> In fever one resorts to bathing in 'ên imm ed-daradj. Some believe that Hammâm esh-shifâ cures certain skin eruptions. For the same reason we find that:

- (a) Offerings are brought in some cases to the guardian spirit.<sup>3</sup>
- (b) No unclean person (especially a woman) should approach such a spring, which is the abode of a holy spirit (probably that of a former deity).<sup>4</sup>
- (c) Prayers are offered and incense burned on some occasions.<sup>5</sup>
- (d) In 'ên esh-shêkh Yûsif,<sup>6</sup> which is haunted by the spirit of that shêkh, one may even hear *ṣalâh u bakkkhûr, u ṣôt djumhûr*, "prayers and incense and the voice of a gathering."<sup>7</sup>

A final observation has still to be made. The periodicity of several manifestations connected with the springs is very striking. The waters of Zemzem mix once a year with those of Hammâm 'ashûra and of Siloam. The lady of 'ên es-sultân has her menstrual flow once a year. St. Mary causes the above mentioned miraculous sign of Bir 'ôna only on her anniversary. A spring in Nâblus stops its flow once a week on Sundays, as it is inhabited by a monk, who must fulfil his religious duties on this day. In some periodical springs battles and victories take place regularly and periodically between good and bad spirits.

All the spirits inhabiting waters are known by the collective name *el-'afârit*. Of course saints and *welis* do not come under this heading. Sometimes the word *raṣad*, pl. *irṣûd*<sup>8</sup> is used. But this expression

<sup>1</sup> They take their bath in the *djurn* (stone basin) in which it is supposed that the Virgin Mary took a bath.

<sup>2</sup> Such a woman has to take with her seven *mashâkhiṣ* (see Canaan, *Aberglaube*), seven keys of doors which open to the south, and seven cups of water, each from a different cistern, where at no time of the day do the rays of the sun shine over its opening (Husun R.).

<sup>3</sup> To Hammâm sitti Mariam candles, flowers, etc. are vowed (Husun R. and Imm. Djordj). To others oil lamps are lighted.

<sup>4</sup> Examples of this have already been mentioned.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. what has been said about 'Ên Djifnah.

<sup>6</sup> To the north of Râmallâh.

<sup>7</sup> Tiâb of Râmallâh.

<sup>8</sup> Waters which run from places where hidden riches are to be found, are guarded by a *raṣad*.

stands also for other sorts of demons. An inhabited source is called *maskûné* or *marsûdé*.

At the close of this paper I have still to mention that not all statements one hears from different persons about on and the same spring correspond. But the fundamental idea, which is the basis of their belief, is as sound as any other one we meet with in Palestinian demonology.

The following is an analysis of the one hundred and twenty inhabited springs which I have noted:

In 24 cases the spirits are good.

4 of them are Christians saints.

29 are Mohammedan *welis*.<sup>1</sup>

" 15 " very bad spirits are met with.

" 35 " we encounter brides and young women.<sup>2</sup>—

" 54 " the demons take a female shape.

" 29 " the *djinn* in animal forms are met with.

" 25 " several spirits live in one source.

6 times two antagonistic spirits haunt the same water.

19 times, more than two live together;

" 14 " the colour black is specified, and in 6 other springs one of the inhabiting spirits is black, while the other one is white;

" 7 " a cock, a hen, or a hen with her chickens guards the water;

" 5 " a camel,

" 8 " one or more sheep;

" 9 " the shapes which the *djinn* take are not specified.

In the *'iûn el-hasr* the form is also not given.

The following is a list of eighty eight of the inhabited springs.<sup>3</sup>

#### I. Springs inhabited by good spirits:

##### 1. By *Welis*, *Shêkhs* and Mohammedan saints:

Bîr es-saḥar	Dêr Tarîf	Weli Shu'êb. <sup>4</sup>
Ên el-Bîrè	el Bîre	Shêkh.

<sup>1</sup> One of these springs is inhabited by an angel.

<sup>2</sup> The Virgin Mary and es-sitt Mu'minah, as well as a black woman are not added to this number.

<sup>3</sup> Some of these springs are mentioned in Canaan, *Aberglaube und Volksmedizin*.

<sup>4</sup> For further details see Canaan *l. c.*

Bir Ayûb	Siloam	en-nabî Ayûb.
Bir Sindjil	Sindjil	esh-shêkh Şâlih.
Bir Sindjil	Sindjil	en-nabî Yûsif.
Ên Qîna	Qîna	el-welî Abû el'ênên. <sup>1</sup>
Ên esh-shêkh Yûsif	N. of Râmallâh	esh-shêkh Yûsif.
Ên el-hadjâr	Dér Ghassâne	es-sitt Mu'minah. <sup>2</sup>
Ên Djakûk	E. of en-nabi Samwil	<i>Welî.</i>
Ên el-amîr	E. of en-nabi Samwil	Şullâh and Awlia.
Ên Maşîtn	Râmallâh	An angel.

## 2. Christian Saints:

Ên er-Râhib	Nâblus	Monk. <sup>3</sup>
Ên Kârim	Ên Kârim	The Virgin Mary.
Bir 'ôna	Bêt-djâla	The Virgin Mary. <sup>2</sup>
Ên Kibirîân	W. of Bêt-djâla	St. Gabrianus.
Hammâm sittî Mariam	Jerusalem	The Virgin Mary. <sup>4</sup>

## II. Springs inhabited by very bad spirits:

A spring in wâdî Benî Hammâd	Wâdî Benî Hammâd	<i>Ghûl.</i> <sup>5</sup>
Ên Hasbân	Transjor dania	<i>Ghûl.</i> <sup>5</sup>
Ên Djariût	Dêr Diwuân	' <i>Abd.</i>
Ên Flêflé	Bir Zêt	' <i>Abd.</i>
Ên el-'arâq	Bir Zêt	' <i>Abd.</i>
Bir Sridah	Dêr Ghassâné	' <i>Abd.</i>
Ên el-Hadjâr	Dêr Ghassâné	<i>Mârid.</i>
Bir abu Sarris	Dêr Ballût	<i>Shêtân.</i>
A spring Qârûs	Kefr Tût	<i>Shêtân.</i>
Ên in wâdî Ed-djâi	Dêr Diwân	<i>Mârid.</i>
Ên 'Abbâsîn	between Battîr and Hûsân	' <i>Abd.</i>

<sup>1</sup> This *welî*, it is said, does not always protect his property in the right way. Once a peasant, who was disappointed by this saint, offered him an oil lamp and vowed: "O, welî, if you do not protect your lamp this time I shall never offer you anything more". Next morning the peasant found near the spring a dead wolf with the lamp in his mouth. This, of course, was a sufficient proof that the saint had exercised his power.

<sup>2</sup> Inhabited at times by a bad spirit; see sect. V. The bad spirits appear very seldom.

<sup>3</sup> Imm. Eliâs H.—from Jerusalem.

<sup>4</sup> There is no spring in the bath. The belief about St. Mary I heard only from one person.

<sup>5</sup> Jaussen, *Coutumes des Arabes*.

## III. Springs inhabited by bad spirits (less harmful than the last group).

‘Ên abu’l-karzam	Râmallâh	Black dog.
‘Ên Misbâh	Râmallâh	Camel.
Bîr esh-Shâmî	Bêt-Iksa	Camel.
‘Ên es Sef	el-Waladjé	Donkey. <sup>1</sup>
‘Ên Silwân	Siloam	Formerly inhabited by a camel.
‘Ên en-nasbé	Râmallâh	Camels.
‘Birket Hadjia	Jerusalem	<i>Rasad</i> , who devours a victim every year.

## IV. Springs inhabited by brides and young women:

‘Ên es-sitt Hasna	Es-sifla. <sup>3</sup>	‘Ên el-qabû	el-Qabû.
‘Ên el-Qaşr	Râmallâh.	‘Ên ‘Atân	‘Atân.
‘Ên el-Lôzé	Râmallâh.	‘Ên Farrûdjé	Solomon’s Pools.
‘Ên Tarfida	Râmallâh.	‘Ên Hammâm	Bîr Zêt. <sup>4</sup>
‘Ên Mindjid	Râmallâh.	‘Ên Dabbâgha	Bîr Zêt.
‘Ên Mizrâb	Râmallâh.	‘Ên es-Sulţan	Jericho. <sup>5</sup>
‘Ên el-Hannîyé	el-Hannîyé.	‘Ên Hantash	NW. of Bêt-djâla.
‘Ên el-Waladjé	el-Waladjé.	‘Ên Djifna	Djifna. <sup>4</sup>
‘Ên Battîr	Battîr.	‘Ên Kafriye	Râmallâh.
‘Ên Harrâshé	Mazra’a gharbiyé.	‘Ên Milke	near Bêt Hanîna.
‘Ên el-Baqûm	Kefr Tût.	‘Ên abu Ziâd	near Bêt Hanîna.
‘Ên el-Qas’a	NE. of el-Bîré.	‘Ên el-Djôz	Râmallâh.
Bîr abû Shêl	Dêr Ghassâné.	‘Ên-el-mâlha	el-Mâlha. <sup>6</sup>

## V. Springs guarded by several spirits:

## 1. By two antagonistic spirits:

‘Ên ed-Djôz	Râmallâh	White and a black sheep.
‘Ên Artâs	Artâs	White and a black sheep.
‘Ên Fawâr	E. of Jerusalem	White and a black sheep.
‘Ên Fawâr	E. of Jerusalem	Free man and a negro.
Bîr ‘ôna	Bêt-djâla	St. Mary and at times an ‘ <i>Abd.</i>
‘Ên el-Hadjar	Dêr Ghassâné	es-Sitt Mu’minah and at the some time a <i>Mârid</i> .

<sup>1</sup> Lic. Kahle, P. J.<sup>2</sup> The female saints, two negresses and one *ghûlê* are not mentioned in this list.<sup>3</sup> Lic. Kahle, P. J.<sup>4</sup> The peculiarity about this spring was mentioned in the text.<sup>5</sup> Has once a year her menstrual period.<sup>6</sup> She wears an *izâr*.



## 2. By several spirits:

'Ên Ma'ân	Ma'ân	<i>Djinn.</i>
Tiberias	Tiberias	<i>Djinn</i> who heat the wells.
'Ên el-Halazon	near Bîr Zêt	Flock of sheep.
'Ên en-Nasbé	Râmallâh	Camels.
'Ên Djariût	Dêr Diwân	A <i>djinn</i> marriage procession.
'Ên Sâbûnah	Dêr Ghassâné	The family of Za'rûrah.
'Ên Hiddiyé	between Hûsân and Battir	<i>Djinn.</i>
'Ên Djâmi	near Battir	<i>Djinn</i> who carry fuel to the springs of Tiberias.
'Ên Djenân	Bêtûniâ	Hen with her chickens.
'Ên Liftâ	Liftâ	Hen with her chickens.
'Ên Silwân	Siloam	Hen with her chickens (for- merly by a camel).
Bîr Hâilé	Dêr Ghassâné	Hen with her chickens.
'Ên el-Farkha wid-dîk	Salt	Young hen and a cock. <sup>1</sup>

## VI. Springs which have not been mentioned:

'Ên 'Adjab	el-Qubêbé	White cock.
'Ên Qashqalé	Hebron	Cock.
Bîr el-Hummus	Hebron	Ram.
'Ên ed-djîb	ed-Djîb	Ram.
'Ên el-Farûmé	Bîr Zêt	Ram.
'Ên Halhul	near Hebron	Ram.
El 'Audja	N. of Jericho	Gazelle.
'Ên Surik	Bêt Surik	Mouse.
'Ên el-Wihra	Kefr Tût	Monkey. <sup>2</sup>
'Ên Mardé	Marde	Serpent.
'Ên Sôba	Sôba	'ên <i>hasr</i> . <sup>2</sup>
'Ên Abu Niâq	Dêr Ghassâné	'ên <i>hasr</i> . <sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Imm Eliâs H.<sup>2</sup> Has a curative action in supression of urine.

# LA RÉPÉTITION DE LA RACINE EN HÉBREU

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## I

IL existe un phénomène philologique des plus *primitifs*, très caractéristique pour le langage *enfantin* et le parler *populaire*, qui se rencontre également dans les idiomes de maintes peuplades sauvages et de certains peuples anciens. Les traces n'en sont pas rares même dans les langues modernes, surtout de la famille *romane*, qui, comme l'italien et le français, préfèrent souvent l'expression concrète et *intuitive* à l'abstraite.

Ce phénomène, si curieux dans sa *simplicité* naturelle, consiste à *répéter le mot* ou seulement la *racine* pour en *renforcer* la signification ou y *insister* d'une façon quelconque.

Un enfant, au lieu de dire «très petit», par exemple, dira *petit-petit*. Il en fera autant pour d'autres adjectifs, en prêtant à la répétition un sens *superlatif*. De même, en matière d'adverbes, il préférera *cite-vite* à «bien vite» ou «très vite». Dans les verbes, nous verrons indiquer ainsi surtout la *durée* ou l'*ininterruption*: il *court-court* signifiera donc dans ce langage «il court sans s'arrêter». Quant aux substantifs, c'est la grande *quantité* ou le grand *nombre* qu'on fait ressortir par ce procédé. Certains mots français, comme *bonbon* (superlatif) et *joujou* (itératif), par ex., doivent très probablement leur origine à ce langage enfantin.

Les mêmes remarques sont souvent valables pour le parler *populaire* ou *familier*, en général.

Parmi les langues anciennes, c'est le *sumérien* qui est le plus frappant à ce point de vue. En effet, moyen primitif par excellence, il forme régulièrement le *pluriel*<sup>1</sup> des substantifs, et même des

<sup>1</sup> Voy. Fr. Delitzsch, *Grundzüge der sumer. Grammat.*, p. 44.

adjectifs, par la répétition pure et simple du singulier: *tir* = forêt, *tir-tir* = forêts; *bal* = hache, *bal-bal* = haches. La répétition de l'adjectif peut, en outre, signifier le *superlatif*: *gal* = grand, *gal-gal* = très grand.

On croit même trouver en hébreu des restes de ce pluriel<sup>1</sup> dans les mots מִימִי les *eaux* et מִימִיּוֹת doubles *tranchants* qui ne seraient que des reduplications de מִי et de מַה. Mais, si nous préférons voir dans *mēmē*, au lieu d'une reduplication du singulier *mai*, un pluriel *secondaire* du pluriel *maim* (מַיִם) comme il y en a, dans l'hébreu postbiblique, un autre avec terminaison féminine מִימֹת *mēmōth*, — nous pourrions trouver des exemples très sûrs en araméen et en syriaque: aram. *ravr'vîn*, grands, du sing. *rav*; syr. *daqd'qē*, petits, du sing. *daq* inusité.

Or, si les langues sémitiques, notamment l'araméen et l'arabe, ont conservé des restes plus ou moins isolés de cette primitive habitude de langage, il sera d'autant plus curieux, *suggestif* peut-être, de constater la *portée générale* que ce phénomène a gardée en hébreu et de suivre toute l'intéressante *évolution* qu'il a pu subir depuis la Bible jusqu'à nos jours où il continue, d'ailleurs, de vivre et de créer. Se différenciant en plusieurs procédés grammaticaux ou syntaxiques, ou en séries-types d'expressions idiomatiques, la *répétition de la racine* a fourni à la langue hébraïque, par voie de formation *spontanée*, souvent même *populaire* et sous l'influence de l'action *analogique*, des ressources précieuses pour rendre d'une façon plus vive et intense, surtout plus *concrète et intuitive*, certaines nuances d'expression sur lesquelles on tient à insister sans les affaiblir par un langage abstrait.

Voyons d'abord le procédé le plus simple et primitif, c'est-à-dire la *répétition du mot tel quel*, sans changement sensible de forme grammaticale. Les exemples abondent dans la Bible<sup>2</sup> et dans la littérature postérieure pour les usages suivants:

<sup>10</sup> Dans les *interjections* pures, comme הִיָּהוּ (Am. 5 16), אֵי-יָאוּ (Ezech. 16 23), הָאֵה הָאֵה (Ps. 70 4), יִי-י post-bib.

<sup>20</sup> Dans l'*apostrophe* ou discours direct affectant un nom propre aussi bien qu'un nom commun, par ex. מֹשֶׁה מֹשֶׁה oh! Moïse, אֲבִרָהם oh! Abraham, אֱלִי אֱלִי oh! mon Dieu, בְּנִי בְנִי oh! mon fils,

<sup>1</sup> Brockelmann, Grundriss der vergl. Gramm. der semit. Spr. I, page 440.

<sup>2</sup> Voy. D. Qimhi: מכלול, p. 60—61, éd. Lucques. Ce grammairien entrevoyait déjà l'importance de la Répétition en hébreu pour renforcer le sens.

אבי אבי oh! mon père. Remarque. — On pourrait attribuer la cause de cette dernière sorte de répétitions au manque, en hébreu, d'une *particule vocative* spéciale comme *يا* *yā* en arabe ou *oh!* en français.

3° Pour exprimer la *douleur localisée* dans un certain organe, par ex. ראש ראש oh! ma tête, עיני עיני oh! mon œil, מעי מעי (Jer. 4 19) oh! mes entrailles, etc.

4° Pour indiquer le *superlatif* dans les noms et surtout dans les *adjectifs* et *adverbes*, par ex. צדק צדק תרדף (Deut. 16 20) tu suivras la *justice la plus exacte*, עמק עמק (Eccl. 7 24) très profond, האדם האדם (Gen. 25 30) = Pešitta: *sūmqā sūmqā très roux*, רע רע (Pr. 20 14) très mauvais, אחרון-אחרון (p. b.) le *tout* dernier; גבוהה גבוהה (1. Sam. 2 3) avec *beaucoup* de hauteur, יפה-יפה (p. b.) très bien, לאט-לאט *tout* doucement, מאד-מאד extrêmement, פתע-פתאם très soudainement, סביב-סביב (aram. *s'hōr-s'hōr*) *tout* autour, סוף-סוף (p. b.) à la fin du compte, כלל וכלל (p. b.) pas du *tout*, מדור-דור de *tout* temps.

5° Pour donner un sens *distributif*, *itératif* ou de *continuité* ininterrompue, aux noms, adverbes ou verbes, par ex. איש-איש quiconque, chacun, בארות-בארות חמר (Gen. 14 10) *pleine* de puits de bitume (vallée), המונים-המונים (Joel 4 14) des foules *qui se pressent*, אלף אלף למטה (Num. 31 4) mille par tribu, שבעה-שבעה par sept, שנים-שנים par deux, אחד אחד איש אחד למטה (Num. 13 2) un homme *de chaque* tribu, מעט-מעט (Ex. 23 30) *peu à peu* = Peš.: *b'qalil-qalil*, בד בדד (Ex. 30 34) à parties *égales*, שוה שוה (p. b.) idem; יום-יום *chaque* jour, פעם... פעם (Pr. 7 12) tantôt... tantôt, כפעם בפעם comme *chaque* fois (= comme toujours), מטה-מטה *chaque* soir; בבקר-בבקר *chaque* matin, מטה-מטה *chaque* soir; ידון-ידון (Ps. 68 13) *toujours plus* bas, מעלה-מעלה *toujours plus* haut, סובב סובב (Eccl. 1 6) tournant *sans cesse*.

6° Dans les *impératifs* pour insister, presser ou encourager, comme עמדו-עמדו (Nah. 2 9) arrêtez-vous *donc*, נחמו נחמו (Is. 40 1) consolez *donc*, סורו סורו (Thr. 4 15) retirez-vous *donc*, עברו עברו בשערים (Is. 62 10) passez *donc* par les portes, כלו כלו המסלה (item) aplanissez *donc* le sentier.

<sup>1</sup> Septuag.: *δικαίως τὸ δίκαιον διώξῃ*; Vulg.: *Juste quod justum est persequeris*. Les deux tournent donc par un *adverbe*: tu suivras *exactement* la justice. Quoique ces traductions ne soient pas toujours grammaticalement adéquates au texte hébreu, il n'est pas exclu en cette occurrence qu'un des deux צדק ait eu originairement la valeur d'un *accusatif adverbial* (très fréquent en arabe).



Remarque. — On pourrait toutefois considérer ce genre d'expressions comme simple figure de rhétorique, *réduplication*, qu'on aurait le droit de traduire dans les autres langues par la même répétition.

7<sup>o</sup> Parfois, pour signifier la *dissimilation* ou l'*imparité*, par ex.:

אָבן אָבן *deux sortes de poids* = justes et faux,

אַיפּה אַיפּה *deux sortes de mesures* = idem,

בִּלְבָּב וּבִבְרִירָה (Ps. 123) ils parlent avec un *cœur double*.

8<sup>o</sup> Pour mettre fortement *en relief* un nom, un pronom et même une conjonction, ou pour *exclure* le contraire et le différent, par ex.:

חַי חַי הוּא יוֹדֶךָ (Is. 38 19) *mais c'est* le vivant qui te célébrera (et non point les morts),

אֲנִי אֲנִי הוּא (Deut. 32 39) *moi seul* je suis Dieu,

אֲנִי אֲנִי הוּא מְנַחֵמְכֶם (Is. 51 12) *voyez, c'est* moi qui vous console,

יֵעַן וְכִיֵּן (Lev. 26 43) *c'est bien* parce que...

## II

C'est à ce phénomène primitif que doivent également leur origine tous les nombreux verbes — avec leurs dérivés — considérés comme *quadrilittères* et qui sont, en réalité, formés secondairement par *réduplication* d'une racine qu'on pourrait appeler *bilitère*, les deux membres du groupe restant accolés dans un radical commun au lieu d'être séparés en deux mots différents. Ces quadrilittères peuvent facilement tirer leur origine de toutes sortes de racines *faibles* aptes, par conséquent, à se débarrasser d'une de leurs trois radicales, mais avant tout des verbes *creux* et *gémérés*. La *réduplication* donne à ces verbes de formation secondaire une nuance nettement *itérative*: ils indiquent donc des actions, plutôt faibles, se produisant à *coups répétés*, à peu près comme les fréquentatifs *latins* à infinitif en *itare* (*crepitare*, *cantitare*, *volitare* etc.) et surtout comme les verbes français *craqueter*, *voleter*, *toussoter*, *pleurnicher*<sup>2</sup> etc. En hébreu, les exemples abondent dans la Bible aussi bien que dans la littérature postbiblique. Voyons-en les plus usuels:

<sup>1</sup> Ben-Jehuda: *Thesaurus*, p. 1051; ce הוּא aurait perdu le *iod* initial par suite de rencontre avec le *iod* final du mot précédent. Le sens est ainsi parfaitement parallèle avec celui de l'hémistiche suivant: וְאֵין אֱלֹהִים עִמָּדִי.

<sup>2</sup> Comp. aussi les verbes allemands en *eln*, comme: *lächeln* sourire, *klingeln* tinter etc.

<i>ninnem</i> (p. b.), sommeiller,	de גוּם;
<i>gilgel</i> , faire avancer en roulant,	de גָּלָל;
<i>bilbel</i> (p. b.), embrouiller, confondre,	de בָּלָל;
<i>gilcel</i> (p. b.), sonnailler, tinter,	de צָלָל;
<i>tiftef</i> (p. b.), dégoutter,	de נָטַף;
<i>ligleg</i> (p. b.), tourner en dérision,	de לָעַג;
<i>hirher</i> , allumer la querelle, faire des intrigues,	de חָרַר;
<i>nidned</i> (p. b.), secouer, branler,	de נִדַּד;
<i>ni'ana'</i> (p. b.), idem,	de נָוַע;
<i>tiltel</i> , balancer, lancer de ci de là, cahoter,	de טוֹל;
<i>nifnef</i> (p. b.), brandiller	de נוֹף;
<i>qilqel</i> , secouer des flèches, gâter (p. b.),	de קָלָל;
<i>lithhalhal</i> , être saisi de tremblements d'angoisse,	de חִל;
<i>šifšeš</i> (p. b.), frotter,	de שׁוֹף;
<i>qišqeš</i> (p. b.), tinter, frapper,	de נָקַשׁ;
<i>zilzel</i> (p. b.), déprécier, mépriser,	de זָלָל;
<i>picpeç</i> , fracasser,	de פָּצַץ;
<i>kirker</i> , danser (en tournant),	de כָּרַר;
<i>pirper</i> , effaroucher; p. b. gigotter, émietter	de פָּרַר;
<i>hithmarmar</i> , s'exaspérer,	de מָרַר.

On voit bien que la grande majorité de ces verbes secondaires de la forme *piḥpel* tirent leur origine d'une racine biblique, même quand ils sont post-bibliques. Certains de ces derniers ont pénétré en hébreu de l'araméen où, d'ailleurs, ces itératifs ne sont pas moins fréquents qu'en arabe.

Il faut rattacher à ce groupe, certainement comme les plus primitifs de procédé, les quadrilittères *onomatopoiétiques* qui ne font que répéter deux fois un bruit naturel, comme: *gišceš* gazouiller, *qirqer* (p. b.) glousser ou coasser, *ginggem* (p. b.) bégayer, *ki'ka'* (p. b.) toussoter, *girçer* (p. b.) crier (grillon). Ils se sont multipliés surtout dans l'hébreu moderne, par ex.: *zimzem*<sup>1</sup> bourdonner, *tigteq* faire entendre le tic-tac (montre), *rišreš* bruire (froufrou de feuilles ou d'étoffes), *digdeg* chatouiller = ar. دَغْدَغ, etc. De même, le substantif biblique *baqbūq*, bouteille, reproduit le glouglou de l'eau. Il va, d'ailleurs, sans dire que les quadrilittères, comme les autres verbes, nous ont fourni toutes sortes de noms dérivés, par ex. *galgal* roue, *zalzal*

<sup>1</sup> Ar. زَمْزَم = marmotter, parler entre les dents, barrir (chameau).

sarment (comp. ar. زَلَزَلَ vaciller,<sup>1</sup> chanceler), ša'asū'im récréation de שַׁעֲשִׁיעַ — שַׁעֲשִׁיעַ. Pourtant, l'existence de ces noms peut être indépendante de celle de verbes quadrilittères correspondants, par ex. ṣa'asū'im gravures (comp. ar. صَاغَ former, façonner), ṣinṣeneth panier ou bocal, qanqan (p. b.) cruché.

Quant aux racines trilittères saines, ne pouvant pas facilement se répéter en entier, ce qui produirait un radical secondaire de six lettres inapte à la conjugaison, — elles se sont contentées de redoubler les deux dernières radicales pour former ainsi des soi-disant quinquilittères. Comme verbes, ils ont surtout un sens *superlatif*:

s'harḥar (Ps. 38 10) être très agité (cœur); -

יָפִית (Ps. 45 3) tu es plus beau qu'aucun...;

p'qal-qō'al (Is. 61 1) ouvrir largement ou grande ouverture des prisons;

ahabhū-hebhū<sup>2</sup> (Hos. 4 18) = ahabhhebhū ne s'occuper que d'amour;

ḥomarn'rū me'ai (Thr. 1 20, 2 11) mes entrailles sont très-émues (= fermentent, comp. ar. حَمَرَ);

panai ḥomarn'rū (Job. 16 16) mon visage est tout-rougi, comp. ar. حمر;

hittamm'hū t'mahū (Hab. 1 5) soyez extrêmement étonnés. Dans ce dernier exemple, toutes les trois radicales ont été répétées.

Ces quinquilittères forment aussi un groupe d'*adjectifs* indiquant surtout les couleurs avec un sens *itératif*, comme si elles se répétaient par petites quantités: יֶרֶק verdâtre, שֹׁהַר noirâtre, אֶדְמָם rougeâtre; en hébreu moderne: צהבה jaunâtre (couleur d'or), כחל bleuâtre. Parmi les adjectifs du même genre n'indiquant pas de couleurs, citons comme exemples: עקלקל tortueux, פתלתל entortillé (faux).

De même que les quadrilittères ci-dessus mentionnés, les quinquilittères aussi ont donné naissance à maints substantifs dérivés, comme אֲסַפְסוּף populace, חלקלקת endroits très glissants (ou intrigues, arti-

<sup>1</sup> En hébreu, le nom seul est ici quadrilittère, mais le verbe reste trilittère au nif'al. Voy. Gesenius-Buhl: *Handwört.*, rac. I ולל, p. 199.

<sup>2</sup> Notons toutefois que les exégètes sont loin de l'unanimité générale en ce qui concerne notre expression. Voyez la Vulgate, aussi Ben-Jehūda (*Thes.*, אהבה). — Douteuse aussi, plus ou moins, l'expr. ṣirhaq-ḥoq (Mich. 7 11) il est très loin, où certains voudraient corriger ḥoq en huqqi et traduire: ma frontière s'étendra loin (= s'élargira).

fices), חֲרִיבוֹרוֹת taches parsemées (panthère), חֲרִפְרוֹת (Is. 2 20) rats-taupes, etc.

Mais, si les verbes quadrilittères et les adjectifs quinquilittères sont des formes bien vivantes en hébreu jusqu'à nos jours même, les verbes quinquilittères sont tombés en désuétude dès les temps anciens, ne nous laissant dans la Bible que quelques rudiments isolés.

### III

Si, après avoir examiné la répétition pure et simple du *mot*, nous venons maintenant à suivre l'évolution — ou plutôt la *différenciation* — subie par ce phénomène, notre attention sera tout d'abord retenue par les *substantifs* où nous aurons à distinguer plusieurs manières:

1<sup>o</sup> Construction du *singulier avec le singulier*, accompagnée de changement de type nominal ou de genre, mais surtout d'adjonction d'un suffixe pronominal, par ex.:

קֶרֶם קִרְמָתָה (Is. 23 7) sa haute antiquité,

שִׁבְתָּן שִׁבְתָּ (Ex. 31 15, 35 2) repos absolu,

תוֹךְ תוֹכוֹ (p. b.) le fin fond de.

Notons que, parfois, le *génitif* peut être remplacé par une *particule*, comme dans אֱמֶת לְאֵמָתָה (p. b.) la vérité complète.

2<sup>o</sup> Construction du *singulier avec le pluriel* pour indiquer l'excellence:

עֲבָדִים עֲבָדָה le plus vil des esclaves,

הַבָּלִים הַבָּל הַבָּלִים la plus pure vanité,

שִׁיר הַשִּׁירִים שִׁיר הַשִּׁירִים le plus illustre de tous les chants,

קִדְשֵׁי קִדְשֵׁי קִדְשֵׁי קִדְשֵׁי saint des saints, sacro-saint.

De même dans certaines locutions adverbiales, comme לְנֶצַח נֶצַחִים en toute éternité, לְדוֹר דּוֹרִים pour toutes les générations. C'est ainsi que Dieu est désigné par la *triple* répétition: מֶלֶךְ מְלָכִי מְלָכִים le roi des rois des rois.

3<sup>o</sup> Construction du *pluriel avec le pluriel*, surtout dans des expressions *adverbiales*, avec signification *superlative* dans un sens qualitatif ou quantitatif:

קִדְשֵׁי הַקִּדְשִׁים (Lév. 21 22) la part des prêtres dans les dons sacrés,

שְׁמֵי שְׁמַיִם שְׁמֵי שְׁמַיִם dieux sublimes,

פְּלָאִי פְּלָאִים פְּלָאִים grandes merveilles,

<sup>1</sup> On pourrait rattacher à ce groupe l'expression post-biblique לְעֵתָהּ en attendant (m. à m. au temps de maintenant), où 'atta, morphologiquement l'accusatif adverbial du nom עֵת, remplit le rôle d'un nom au *génitif*.



תלי תלי des tas et des tas,  
 פרטי פרטי (aram.) *beaucoup* de détails,  
 נסי נסי *grands* miracles,  
 נחרי נחרי en *grande* cachette,  
 לעולמי לעולמי à *tout* jamais.  
 כפלי כפלי (duel) *plusieurs fois* le double.

La plupart des exemples de cette dernière catégorie sont postbibliques. Nous avons, d'ailleurs, l'occasion d'y rencontrer de curieux phénomènes d'*analogie* qui vont, pour ainsi dire, jusqu'à *braver la grammaire*.

En effet, une fois que la terminaison *masculine* du pluriel construit (ִי = *ē*) s'est fixée par l'usage comme *caractéristique* de ces sortes d'expressions superlatives, on l'appliqua également aux noms masculins dont le pluriel régulier est à terminaison *féminine*<sup>1</sup> ות = *ōth*, par ex.:

דורי דורי de longues générations,  
 בקולי קולות (crier) à tue-tête,  
 בסודי סודות très secrètement, en grand secret.

Plus encore, et c'est le comble de l'audace au point de vue grammatical, l'analogie est allée jusqu'à traiter de la même manière des noms purement *féminins* avec les terminaisons typiques *a* (הָ) au singulier et *ōth* (ות) au pluriel; par exemple:

שבועי שבועי <sup>2</sup> prêter mille serments ou jurer sans discontinuer,  
 צרי צרות *grandes* misères,  
 קלי קלות *toutes* sortes de malédictions,  
 תנועי תנועות avec *force* gestes,  
 רבי רבבות des myriades *sans fin*,  
 חבילי חבילות un encombrement de paquets.

Enfin, d'une façon tout à fait inattendue, cette analogie a atteint des noms *abstraits* même et de vrais *adverbes* dans plusieurs locutions adverbiales, comme: בולי זול (ou בזיל הזול) à très bon marché, ברלי דלות sans le sou (dans la misère noire), בחני חנם pour rien, presque gratis. Ces expressions et plusieurs des précédentes semblent bien être de formation plus ou moins *populaire* qui seule aurait pu se permettre une pareille *liberté dans l'analogie*. En effet, tout en étant très

<sup>1</sup> Même phénomène morphologique, mais sans la différenciation de sens ici en question, à constater dans les expressions talmudiques: *wladē wladōth* (*Bekhor.* 24) des petits de deuxième génération, *perē perōth* les revenus des revenus.

<sup>2</sup> Dans *Ezech.* 21, 28, cette expression est peu claire; par contre elle est très courante dans l'hébreu post-bibl. dans le sens indiqué ici.

usuelles même dans le langage *judéo-allemand*, elles n'ont pas beaucoup cours dans le style *littéraire* hébreu et ne sont pas, pour la plupart, enregistrées par les dictionnaires.<sup>1</sup>

Donc, pour résumer ce qui concerne les substantifs, nous pouvons dire que les trois manières citées — constructions du sing. avec le sing., du sing. avec le pluriel, du plur. avec le pluriel — ne sont que des variations du même principe général qui attribue un sens *superlatif* à l'état construit avec répétition.

Un deuxième principe, général seulement pour la 3<sup>ème</sup> manière, c'est que la terminaison *masculine* *ē* (ִי) du pluriel construit peut s'appliquer, sans exception, à tous les noms quels qu'en soient le genre ou le pluriel absolu.

Enfin, il ne serait peut-être pas inutile de signaler entre les expressions, surtout du 2<sup>e</sup> et du 3<sup>e</sup> groupes, une certaine différence dans le *mécanisme*, pour ainsi dire, de la répétition; d'autant plus que cette différence n'est pas sans en entraîner une dans notre *façon de percevoir* l'acception de ces locutions. En effet, dans le troisième groupe, basé sur la construction du plur. avec le pluriel, la répétition est *régressive*: étant donné un plur. *absolu*, nous le faisons *précéder* de son état *construit*, de פלאים פלאים *merveilles* nous faisons פלאי פלאים *grandes merveilles*. Tout en percevant l'expression comme un seul mot à *réduplication*, nous finissons pourtant par distinguer que la *nouvelle nuance* de signification — le superlatif — a été produite par la partie ajoutée *en avant*. Or, il n'en est pas de même du 2<sup>e</sup> groupe où la répétition est *progressive*: nous sentons sans difficulté que, dans les expressions comme 'ebed 'abadim *vil esclave*, c'est le premier mot, au singulier, qui est le principal et que c'est le pluriel dont on l'a fait *suivre* qui lui ajoute le sens superlatif, ou d'excellence, en remplissant ainsi le rôle d'un *adjectif* spécial qui, lui aussi, aurait dû *suivre* le nom.

<sup>1</sup> Ben-Jehuda, *Thes.* p. 945, ne signale que l'exp. b'dallē dallūth chez quelques rabbins du moyen-âge, entre autres chez *Raši*, qui, d'ailleurs, négligeant toute préoccupation littéraire, nous ont souvent conservé des façons de parler *populaires*. — J'ai, moi-même, eu l'occasion d'entendre des rabbins *espagnols* se servir de l'expression לְפָחִי פָחוֹת *tout au moins*, comme si l'adverbe pāhōth était un nom pluriel. Ils m'ont affirmé que c'était là une façon de parler très courante chez eux, employée surtout par les gens de la *vieille génération*, qui n'ont pas appris leur hébreu dans les écoles modernes.

## IV

Si nous nous adressons maintenant aux *adjectifs* proprement dits, nous rencontrerons d'abord un superlatif *postbiblique* qui, pour unir les deux termes de la répétition dont le 2<sup>e</sup> est généralement un *pluriel*, remplace l'état construit par la *double* particule *ש* qui (*puisse se trouver*) + *ב* dans (*parmi*); par ex.:

קל שבקלים de très peu d'importance,

עני שבעניים *extrêmement* pauvre,

מעלה שבמעלים le *plus* remarquable,

פחות שבפחות le *plus* bas (vil),

הרש שבחדשים le *plus* nouveau (moderne), récent.

Cette façon caractérise plutôt le style *familier*.<sup>1</sup> Elle provient, très probablement, d'une *double origine* consistant dans la superposition du superlatif *araméen* hébraisé au superlatif *biblique*. En effet, la préposition *ב* *ba* est la caractéristique de ce dernier, comme dans *haiḡafa bannašim* (Cant. cant 18) la plus belle des femmes. Quant à la particule *ש* *še* dont l'usage se fait déjà bien sentir dans les derniers livres de la Bible, elle correspond au relatif *ד* (*d'*, *di*) qui, remplaçant l'état *construit*, caractérise également — d'ailleurs avec répétition du nom — le superlatif *araméen*, par ex.:

משופרא דשופרא רזון רזון grands mystères, *du plus beau*, etc.

En outre, il n'est pas sans intérêt de noter qu'à ce superlatif *araméen* correspond plus exactement encore un autre superlatif *post-biblique*, beaucoup moins usité il est vrai, dans lequel c'est la préposition *min*, *de*, qui unit les deux termes de la répétition. Cette dernière peut, d'ailleurs, comme en *araméen*, affecter un *singulier* aussi bien qu'un *pluriel*: c'est une sorte de répétition *pure et simple*<sup>2</sup> à l'aide d'une préposition, par. ex. *daqqa min haddaqqa* (Joma 4 9) très fine, *hamm'hadd'rîn min hamm'hadd'rîn* (*Šabbath* 21) les plus exacts, méticuleux ou empressés (dans l'observance).

Or, les *adjectifs* ont un procédé de répétition bien plus *original*: il ne consiste pas, comme on pourrait le dire pour les deux cas précédents, dans une sorte de *périphrase*, aussi brève qu'elle soit, de l'état *construit*, mais il exprime le superlatif *absolu* (sans comparaison)

<sup>1</sup> C'est sur ce type qu'a été formée aussi l'expression *injurieuse* courante dans le langage *populaire*: כלב שבכלבים *chien de chien*!

<sup>2</sup> À noter pourtant l'article qu'on ajoute toujours au *deuxième* membre de la répétition.

par voie plutôt *morphologique*. Le principe est très net: on répète la *racine* de l'adjectif sous forme d'un *participe passif* quelconque, en accordant la préférence à la forme *intensive*. Les exemples ne manquent point depuis la Bible:

ישן נושן (Lév. 26 10) très vieux,

חכמים מחכמים (Prov. 30 24) extrêmement intelligents,

רשע מרשע<sup>1</sup> (pop.) très méchant.

Il en est de même pour des *substantifs abstraits* à sens adjectif ou participe:

מוסד מוסד<sup>2</sup> (Is. 28 16) fondation solide,

צרות צרורות (pop.) grandes misères.

Les deux termes peuvent aussi être unis par un ו *waw* conjonctif:

בטל ומבטל *complètement* nul ou annulé,

ברוך ומבורך *mille fois* béni,

יחיד ומיוחד *absolument* unique,

שונה ומשונה *tout ce qu'il y a de plus* différent,

מלא וממלא *archi-plein*,

רחוק ומרחק<sup>3</sup> très éloigné, etc.

<sup>1</sup> כשל מבשל במים (Ex. 12 9) *cuit, préparé à l'eau* n'a rien à voir ici, n'étant pas une répétition pour *renforcer* le sens. En effet, מבשל במים n'est qu'une *parenthèse* ou une *apposition* pour déterminer l'acception précise de כשל à laquelle on fait allusion dans ce passage, le même terme étant employé ailleurs dans le sens de *cuire au feu*, rôtir (2. Chr. 35 13). — Quant à ממשש (Ps. 64 7), le texte y est trop douteux et trop obscur pour nous permettre de reconnaître la vraie valeur de cette expression.

<sup>2</sup> מוסד n'est pas, comme l'admet Gesenius (Händw., יסד), un *hof'al* qui rendrait *superflue* la reduplication de la 2<sup>e</sup> radicale. Car, si la Massora nous a conservé ce *dagesh fort* malgré l'apparente exception, c'est que nous sommes en présence d'un *archaïsme*. En effet, la voyelle précédant ici la reduplication n'est longue qu'en apparence; en réalité, c'est un *u bref* (ü = ו) qui a reculé pour remplacer un *sheva mobile*: מוסד provient de מוסד, *müssad* < *m'wussad*. Le phénomène est, d'ailleurs, bien connu comme affectant, dans les mêmes conditions, la lettre *alef* qui devient alors *quiescente* comme notre *waw* ici; par ex. ראשים < קאשים, קאתים < מאתים etc. Or, *m'wussad* est la forme *archaïque* de *m'jussad*, le verbe appartenant aux פ"ו. Donc, c'est le partic. passif de la forme *Intensive* (pu'al) sous laquelle, d'ailleurs, ce verbe est si usité dans la Bible. Une bonne raison *contre* le *hof'al* est déjà ce fait que nous ne trouvons guère יסד sous la forme *causative*. — Quant au phénomène même du *recul vocal*, il n'est pas isolé chez le *waw*; nous le retrouvons dans Job 5 7: *jullad* provenant de *j'wullad*, passif du *gal*.

<sup>3</sup> Le même procédé a très probablement présidé à la formation des expressions *nominales* abstraites: שאה ומשואה, באִצָּעָה (Nah. 2 11) grande calamité = בוקה ומבוקה



Ce dernier type d'expressions nous fera saisir facilement comment a pu se former l'étonnant *juron*, répandu chez les Juifs espagnols, pour taxer quelqu'un de la plus grande méchanceté: רע ומצורע *méchant et lépreux*. On se demande ce que le *lépreux* pourrait bien avoir à faire ici, car on ne voit guère en quoi la *lèpre* caractériserait la méchanceté. Or, la chose est bien simple. Notre *lépreux* est tombé ici par un pur hasard, victime d'une *analogie* malencontreuse: voulant renforcer רע *méchant*, selon la manière habituelle, par la répétition sous forme de *partic. pass. intensif*, on se heurta contre une difficulté phonétique ou grammaticale sortant un peu de l'ordinaire, l'adjectif en question dérivant d'une racine *gémignée* avec 2<sup>e</sup> et 3<sup>e</sup> radicales *gutturales*, רעע. Or, dans ces circonstances, rien n'était mieux fait pour trancher la difficulté que le qualificatif מצורע *lépreux*, donnant par sa forme satisfaction à tous les besoins de l'analogie: il répète par sa dernière syllabe l'adjectif à renforcer, il a aussi la forme *intensive* du part. pass., requise dans ces occasions. De plus, le sens propre de *m'çora'*, ne représentant également rien d'appétissant, ajoutait à l'expression une nouvelle nuance pour rendre aussi le *dégoût* inspiré par la méchanceté.

Pour des raisons analogues, nous rencontrons dans l'usage moderne l'expression ור ומוור<sup>1</sup> tout à fait *étranger*, quoique מוור, employé isolément, ne signifie que *bizarre*.

## V

Si nous passons aux verbes, nous pouvons y rencontrer le même procédé que chez les adjectifs. Pour *renforcer* le sens, on répète le verbe à un autre thème, en préférant l'*Intensif*, par ex.:

אם תעירו ואם תעוררו<sup>2</sup> (Cant. 2 7; 3 5; 8 4) que vous n'éveilliez point ni ne réveilliez!

(Soph. 1 15) grand malheur = שוֹאָה. — Le *waw* conjonctif remplit, en outre, un rôle assez important, dans ce que l'on pourrait appeler la *répétition mixte*, où il sert à unir des catégories grammaticales bien sensiblement *différentes*, par ex.: 'iddan w'iddanim (aram.) bien longtemps, *haft'e wafele'* c'est merveilleux, *lifnai w'lifnim* tout à l'intérieur, *rōš w'rōšōn* le tout premier. Nous le retrouverons aussi plus loin, dans les verbes.

<sup>1</sup> מוור ne se trouve qu'une fois dans la Bible (Ps. 69 9). La version *syriaque* traduit ונוכריא = hébr. ור et *étranger*. Les modernes corrigent כמו ור *comme un étranger*. Le mot, prétendu donc douteux, est pourtant très courant dans l'usage post-biblique.

<sup>2</sup> Il serait un peu risqué de ranger ici les deux express. peu claires d'Is. 29 9: השתעשעו ושעו התמהמו ותמדו (comme *triple* répétition alors); car d'autres sont tentés d'y chercher des verbes *différents*, mais simplement *homonymes*. — Pour la même raison, nous laisserons encore de côté ici וקושו וקושו (Soph. 2 1).

סגרת וּמִסְגֶּרֶת (Jos. 6 1) close et fermée *avec soin*,  
 מִי שֶׁהוֹמָה וְהוֹמָה (Lév. Rabba 22 1, 2) qui désire *ardemment*.

Nous arrivons ainsi au procédé original et classique dont dispose la langue hébraïque pour renforcer le verbe et dont les traductions anciennes ne savaient que rarement rendre les nuances. C'est une *répétition* qui se fait par l'*Infinitif*, surtout par celui du thème qui affecte le verbe intéressé, par ex.: הָקַם תִּקֵּם (Deut. 22 5), הִשָּׁב תִּשָּׁב (Deut. 24 2, 13), *hibbōq tibbōq* (Is. 24 3), *šallem š'allem* (Ex. 22 13), גָּנַב גָּנְבְתִּי (Gen. 40 15). Mais cet Infinitif peut aussi, sans égard au thème du verbe qu'il répète, se mettre au *Qal*, comme dans: *saqōl issaqel* (Ex. 21 28), *ṭarōf ṭoraf* (Gen. 37 33), *ganōbh igganebh* (Ex. 22 11), *mōt hithmot'ta* (Is. 24 19) etc. Notons que c'est presque toujours l'*Infin. absolu* et que, généralement, il précède son verbe.

Quoique le fait même de cette *Répétition infinitive* soit classique et qu'elle relève plutôt de la syntaxe, essayons au moins d'esquisser les principales *nuances de signification* qu'elle sert à exprimer et qu'on ne saurait rendre dans une autre langue qu'à l'aide de particules *conjonctives* spéciales ou d'expressions *adverbiales*.

Signalons tout d'abord deux nuances déjà rencontrées souvent au cours de cette étude et qui, sans être bien caractéristiques du verbe, s'y rencontrent pourtant également. Ce sont l'*Intensité* et l'*Itération*. C'est dans un sens *intensif* qu'il faut entendre des expressions comme: *sōs asīs* (Is. 61 10) je me réjouirai beaucoup; *halōkh halakhta* (Gen. 31 30) Vulgate: ire *cupiebas* = tu tenais à t'en aller; *nikhsōf nikhsafta* (item) Ostervald: tu souhaitais *avec passion*. Mais, seul le sens *itératif* conviendra à d'autres exemples: *bakhō tibhkē ballaila* (Thr. 1 2) Osterv.: elle ne cesse de pleurer pendant la nuit; *aqōbh ia'aqobh* (Jer. 9 3) idem: il fait *métier* de supplanter, etc.

La plupart des nuances de sens mentionnées jusqu'ici sont *objectives*. En effet, quantité ou nombre, distribution, continuité, itération, intensité — toutes ne nous renseignent que sur des modifications

<sup>1</sup> La vocalisation biblique, donnant à סגרת la forme *active*, semble bien surprenante. Il se peut bien que nous soyons en présence d'un ancien partic. *passif* du *qal*: *sugereth* à l'instar de *ukkal* (Ex. 3 2) = *ukal*; mais, un phénomène de *dissimilation*, produit par le verbe *passif* immédiatement suivant, aurait changé *sugereth* en *sogereth*.

affectant le monde *extérieur* au sujet pensant. Or, le vrai rôle, spécial à la Répétition infinitive, est de caractère *subjectif* et *énergique*: elle exprime des *relations du sujet* qui n'obligent en rien la réalité même, notamment elle fait mieux ressortir différents degrés d'*énergie* dans l'*affirmation* et dans l'*antithèse*.

Dans l'*Affirmation*, positive ou négative, la répétition infinitive peut servir à rendre:

1<sup>o</sup> des déclarations exprimant une certitude, une conviction, une promesse ou une *assurance*, par ex.:

'elohīm paqōd iḡqod 'ethkhem (Gen. 50 24) Osterv.: Dieu ne manquera point de vous visiter;

ṭarōf ṭoraf iōsef (Gen. 37 33) idem: certainement Joseph a été déchiré;

iakhōl tūkhal (1. Sam. 26 25) tu viendras sûrement à bout;

השב איטיב עמך (Gen. 32 13) je promets de te faire du bien.

2<sup>o</sup> un *droit* accordé (ou refusé) ou un *devoir* vivement recommandé, par ex.:

ומכר לא תמכרנה (Deut. 21 14) Vulg.: nec vendere poteris = mais tu n'auras pas le droit de la vendre;

השב תשיבנו לו (Ex. 23 4) tu devras le lui ramener.

3<sup>o</sup> une *loi* juridique ou un *ordre* imposé pouvant, au besoin, être exécutés par voie coercitive, par ex.:

šallem iḡsallem (Ex. 22 13) Vulg.: reddere compelletur = il sera obligé de rendre;

mōth iḡmāth (Ex. 21, passim) il sera puni de mort immanquablement.

Quant à l'*Antithèse*, la répétition infinitive sait lui donner plus de relief de plusieurs manières:

1<sup>o</sup> sous forme de *question énergique* à laquelle on attend une réponse *négative* par ex.:

היעלה-פה מן-הארמה ולכוד לא ילכד (Am. 3 5) lèverait-on le filet de dessus la terre avant d'avoir rien pris du tout?

המלך תמלך עלינו (Gen. 37 8) est-ce que vraiment du règneras sur nous?

2<sup>o</sup> en relevant des cas *particuliers* ou des circonstances *spéciales*, par ex.:

אם חבל תחבל שלמת רעך (Ex. 22 25) dans le cas où tu prendrais en gage le vêtement de ton prochain;

'im tarōf iittaref (Ex. 22 12) dans le cas où il (bœuf, âne etc.) aurait été déchiré.

3<sup>0</sup> en comparant ou en opposant entre eux deux états ou actions contraires, comme:

הלוך ילך ובכה... בא יבא ברנה (Ps. 126 6) il ira en pleurant... il reviendra avec un cri de joie;

ה' ארך אפים... ונקה לא ינקה (Num. 14 18) Dieu est lent à la colère... mais il ne laisse point (le coupable) impuni.

## VI

Si nous venons maintenant à résumer les différents phénomènes de répétition de la racine passés en revue dans cette étude, nous pourrions les grouper assez nettement en cinq catégories, comme il suit:

- 1<sup>0</sup> la Répétition pure et simple;
- 2<sup>0</sup> la Réduplication sous forme de radicaux quadrilittères et quinquilittères;
- 3<sup>0</sup> la Répétition génitive, ou construite;
- 4<sup>0</sup> la Répétition paronymique, ou sans construction;
- 5<sup>0</sup> la Répétition infinitive.

Comme phénomène de Répétition le plus simple, on pourrait signaler la *réduplication de la 2<sup>e</sup> radicale*, qui constitue à elle seule — par la répétition d'une seule consonne — le thème *Intensif* des verbes. Mais, s'il s'agit de déterminer le phénomène de répétition le plus *primitif dans le temps*, il faudra certainement s'adresser à la «Répétition pure et simple» du mot, sans aucun changement de forme.

La tendance paronymique étudiée jusqu'ici, étant basée sur l'*étymologie*, a donc un double caractère, *sémantique* aussi bien que *phonétique*. En se dissociant, elle peut donc engendrer deux autres phénomènes de répétition:

1<sup>0</sup> la Répétition *synonymique*, ne se préoccupant que du sens, qui est très répandue en hébreu, par ex.:

חשך ואפלה obscurité complète,

שקר וכזב absolument faux,



מוכן ומומן tout prêt,  
אין אפס rien de rien, etc.;

2<sup>o</sup> la Répétition *paronomastique*, faisant cas surtout de la *ressemblance des sons* sans s'occuper de leur étymologie, qui a fourni à l'arabe une assez riche végétation d'expressions à l'allure *fantasque*, comme:

شذر مذر (*šadar madar*) dispersé ci et là,  
جذع مذع (*ǧida' mida'*) de tout côté,  
سائع لائع (*sā'ij lā'ij*) de facile déglutition,  
حيث ييث (*haiṭha baiṭha*) dispersé,  
قليل بليل (*qalīl baṭīl*) peu;

ou à l'air plus raisonnable, comme:

بَرًّا وَبَحْرًا par terre et par mer,  
حَسَبَ وَنَسَبَ (*hasab wanasab*) mérite propre et noblesse d'origine, etc.

Mais ces deux nouvelles espèces de répétitions sortent complètement du cadre de la présente étude.

## A COLONY OF CRETAN MERCENARIES ON THE COAST OF THE NEGEB

W. F. ALBRIGHT  
(JERUSALEM)

WE read Deut. 2<sup>23</sup>: And the 'Awwîm, who dwelt in villages (or, fortified camps<sup>1</sup>) as far as Gaza—the Kaftôrîm who came from Kaftôr destroyed them and dwelt in their stead. Jos. 13<sup>3</sup> also mentions the 'Awwîm as an appendix to a list of the inhabitants of the five Philistine cities, but the name may be merely an archaistic ornament, and not indicate that this mysterious people<sup>2</sup> was still in existence at the time of composition. In all our sources Gaza appears as the southern limit of the Canaanites proper. Gen. 10<sup>19</sup> states:

<sup>1</sup> The term *ḥaṣerîm* (sing. *ḥaṣêr*) means properly "enclosed camps," being etymologically related to the place-name *Ḥaṣôr*. The cognate Arabic word is *ḥaṣîrah*, "enclosure for cattle, sheep-fold," though *ḥaḍar*, "fixed settlement," in distinction to Bedu camp, which appears in Aramaic as *ḥêrtâ* (whence the place-name *al-Hîra*) "permanent camp" may have fallen together with it in Hebrew. In Gen. 25<sup>16</sup> (AV, "castles") and Is. 42<sup>11</sup> the word refers unmistakably to the permanent, and hence enclosed, or fortified camps of Arabia Petraea. This seems also to be the meaning in our passage. Later, in Palestine proper, the word comes to mean "village" in distinction to the walled, "mother" cities (cf. esp. Lev. 25<sup>11</sup>).

<sup>2</sup> 2 Kings 17<sup>31</sup> we hear that 'Awwîm were among the peoples transported by the Assyrians to Samaria, where they still paid honour to their gods, Nibhaz and Tartaq. Hommel (OLZ, XV, 118) has pointed out that the gods are clearly identical with Iḥnāḥaza and Dagdadra, which appear in an Assyrian list of Elamite divinities, though never mentioned in Susian texts, and hence certainly not Elamite in the narrow sense. His association of the 'Awwîm with the city of Awan on the Elamite-Babylonian frontier hardly commends itself, though the city is unquestionably one of the most ancient in Mesopotamia. While the perfect agreement in name may be purely accidental, it is worth bearing in mind. Nor is it impossible that the Ghawwîm (so read, since the *v* in non-Semitic words usually indicates a *gh*) of the Negeb were really a Zagros folk whom the Hyksos settled here, and whom the Pharaohs of the Eighteenth Dynasty replaced with Cretan mercenaries.

And the territory (lit. border) of the Canaanites was from Sidon, as thou goest in the direction of Gerar (*i. e.*, southward) as far as Gaza. Similarly, as Gardiner has pointed out (JEA<sup>1</sup> VI, 104) the southernmost town of the Canaanites, called by Sethos I *dmyt n p<sup>3</sup> Kn'n*, "city of 'the' Canaan," was Gaza. But beyond Gaza were arable stretches of ground, gardens, and palm-groves,<sup>2</sup> which, combined with the profitable caravan trade, supported many flourishing towns,—Gerar (perhaps Tell Jemmeh, in the Wâdi Ghazze, two miles south of Umm Jerrâr) Raphia (Eg. *Rph*, mod. Rafa'), Sharuhén (variant Šilhîm, which the Eg. *Šr(l)n* indicates should be pronounced Šilhôn), etc. Since the term "Canaanite" seems to have been very elastic, it is strange that this district is not assigned to them.

The answer to this problem is indicated by the passage in Deuteronomy already cited. The author of this work from the seventh century, whether using older sources or not, is obviously endeavouring to place himself in as archaic a background as possible. Accordingly, he takes care not to put in Moses's mouth anything incompatible with the historical situation as he conceives it to have been. Knowing that the Philistines were later intruders who did not occupy the coast until many decades after the Judæo-Israelite conquest of the hinterland, he does not mention them at all; the Caphtorim who occupy the coast south of Gaza have nothing to do with the Philistines who came in during the twelfth century, but were an independent body of much earlier immigrants.

Now we are ready to understand 1 Sam. 30 14, where the Egyptian slave of the Amalekite says, We made a raid upon the Negeb belonging to the Krēti (Cherethites) \* \* \* and upon the Negeb belonging to Caleb. The latter is the region of Beersheba, and the former is the district between it and the sea. Verse 16, however, refers to the land of the Cherethites under the general head, "land of the Philistines." This is perfectly natural, since both the Philistines and the Caphtorim are said to come from Caphtor or Crete, and

<sup>1</sup> Note the abbreviations JEA = *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, OLZ = *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*.

<sup>2</sup> Every traveler on the railway from Egypt to Palestine remembers that even today there are long stretches of arable lands in the country between El-'Ariš and Gaza, a distance of fifty miles. The palm-groves of El-'Ariš are wonderfully beautiful in the autumn.

hence possessed similar cultures, whether their languages were similar or not. The same loose usage is shown by the prophets; Ezekiel (25 16) and Zephaniah (2 5) use the terms *Pelîstîm* and *Krētîm* synonymously.

The twenty-sixth chapter of Genesis can now be interpreted with some hope of success. As is well-known, the parallel story told in Ch. 20 of Abraham is merely an Elohist doublet to our Judaic document, and has no independent value. Isaac, representing the Hebrew tribe of the Benê Yiṣḥaq, has a controversy over some lands and wells with the subjects of Abimelech, the "Philistine" prince of Gerar. Isaac dwells in Beersheba, thirty-five miles southeast of Gerar in a straight line, and makes a treaty with Abimelech after being compelled to yield ground. There is no reason to doubt the essential historicity of the account, nor of the names. Phichol, or Pikhôl (פִּיכֹל) the prince's military aid, bears, as Spiegelberg has seen, an Egyptian name, of a common type, meaning "The Syrian" (cf. Phinehas, "The Nubian").<sup>1</sup> However, the modern term "Philistine", has been substituted for the more archaic "Kaftôri," or "Krēti." If we may judge from the name, the Cretan colonists had lost, or were losing their language, and adopting the Canaanite vernacular, Hebrew, just as the Philistine did in his turn. The date of our episode is quite uncertain, and it may have happened anywhere between 1700 and 1300 (cf. the writer's article on "A Revision of Early Hebrew Chronology"), though a date in the Eighteenth Dynasty is perhaps more likely than one in the Hyksos period.

We have already noticed the Egyptian military colouring of the Cretan colonists in Gerar. We may further note that as late as David's reign the Cretans (Cherethites) are regarded as particularly reliable mercenaries, and hence serve as David's personal bodyguard, just as Rameses III. has a Sardinian bodyguard, and the Byzantine emperors their Varangian guard of Norsemen. David may have won their attachment during his early days in Ziklag, just as he won the

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<sup>1</sup> In Egyptian *P3-H3rw*, a very common name in the New Empire. The Egyptian term *Hl*, for Palestine, is just as obscure as *Rtn* and *Dh*, and we may suspect that they are heirlooms from the most remote antiquity. At all events, *Hl* cannot be explained as identical either with the name *Hôrîm*, or with the *Harri*, a Mitannian people who occupied Palestine during the first half of the second millennium, to judge from the proper names of the Amarna period.



affection of Ittai and the men of Gath, but the fact is characteristic. If the Cretans had considered themselves as Philistines, his proverbial hostility to the Philistines would be dangerous, to say the least. The evident truth is that they did not.

The Cretan colonists on the coast of the Negeb are to be regarded as an Egyptian frontier garrison. Evidence regarding the use of foreigners for this purpose in the Eighteenth Dynasty is unfortunately lacking, though the extensive use of mercenaries in this period is certain, and in the Saite period we know that Carians and Jews were employed to garrison the frontiers. The Egyptians have never been a military people, though quite capable of savagery in a riot. The proof of our thesis comes from an indirect source.

Gardiner, JEA VI (1920) 99—116, has published a very important article on "The Ancient Military Road between Egypt and Palestine." In the Nineteenth Dynasty there was an elaborate chain of fortresses stretching along the military road from Sele ("Zaru"), the modern Qanṭarah, to the Egyptian frontier at Raphia, still, curiously enough, the official frontier. On this route there were some twenty-two fortresses, an average distance of two hours, or a Babylonian *bêru*, apart. The list of names in the reign of Sethos I. (1313—1292) shows that he had renamed most of them; probably they had fallen into disrepair or ruin during the preceding half-century. The existence of such a chain of forts and stations was a prerequisite for the success of the campaigns of the great Pharaohs of the Eighteenth Dynasty. We can trace them to a still earlier date. The Hyksos Empire, partly in Asia and partly in Egypt, with its capital at Avaris, in the northeastern corner of the Delta, required a strong line of fortresses to insure an unbroken liaison between the two halves of the realm, so we may safely assume that it goes back to their rule, and that the Egyptians of the Eighteenth Dynasty merely maintained a system to which they had fallen heir. After the loss of Avaris, the Hyksos retired to the Syrian end of this line, and were able to hold Šilhôn (see above) three years against the attacks of Amosis I., as we learn from the famous inscription of the admiral Amosis son of Ybn. We may suppose that the Cretans passed from Hyksos to Egyptian service without difficulty, just as the Jews of Elephantine passed from Egyptian to Persian a millennium later.

We are justified in asking the question, at least, What was the real relation between the Pelištîm, the Kaftôrîm, and the Krêtîm? Some have sought an answer to it in Gen. 19 13f.: And Mišrâyim begot the Lûdîm, and the 'Anamîm, and the Lehabîm, and the Naftûhîm, and the Patrûsîm, and the Kaslûhîm, and the Kaftôrîm. There can be no reasonable doubt that the words "from whom came forth the Pelištîm" are a misplaced gloss explaining Kaftôrîm, owing to the fact that Amos says the Philistines came from Caphtor. In interpreting our passage we must bear in mind that, for all its archaistic tone, the tenth chapter of Genesis was written, at least in its present form, as shown by vv. 2—3 and 12, about 700, or perhaps a little later. Four of these names are known. The Lûdîm are elsewhere the Lydians (it is hard to divine the theory which made our author include Lûd among the Semitic peoples in v. 22); the Lehabîm are the Libyans of Marmarica; the Patrûsîm (correctly Patrêsîm) are the inhabitants of Pathros, or Upper Egypt (Eg. *p3 t3-ršy*, Assy. Paturisi); the Kaftôrîm are the inhabitants of Crete, according to the almost universal view of scholars, for which new evidence will be adduced below. The Naftûhîm and the Kaslûhîm have not been explained, and the attempts so far made had better be relegated to oblivion; the similarity in ending with the Katmûh (whence the name Commagene) and Kardûh (Carduchians) of Armenia is doubtless accidental, despite its closeness. The name 'Anamîm appears, I believe, along with Kaftôr in a remarkable cuneiform geographical manual from the reign of Sargon II. of Assyria (722—705), published by Schroeder, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur verschiedenen Inhalts* (Leipzig, 1920), No. 92. Lines 41—44 read: *A-na-mi* (text *AZAG*, which is impossible) *-ki Kap-ta-ra-ki KÛR-KÛR BAL-RI [A-A] B-BA AN-TA Tilmun-ki Ma-gan-na-ki KÛR-KÛR BAL-R [I] A-AB-BA KI-TA ù KÛR-KÛR TA a BABBAR-Ê* (sic) *EN a BABBAR-ŠU-A ša Šarru-gi-na šar kiššati adî šâlši-šu gât-su ik-šu-du* = "Anami and Kaptara, lands beyond the Upper Sea, Tilmun and Magan, lands beyond the Lower Sea, and the lands from the sunrise to the sunset, which Sargon, king of the world, subdued up to the third (year of his reign)." In view of the character of the orthographic mistakes occurring repeatedly in our tablet, I cannot believe that any other reading except *Anami* is tenable; a similar slovenliness in the writing of *KAP* has prevented Schroeder from recognizing the cuneiform

equivalent of Caphtor. Our text adds this much to the discussion of the problem, that Caphtor is certainly not Cilicia, as Wainwright proposed.<sup>1</sup> Nor can it be Cyprus, which is always Yadanān in late Assyrian inscriptions. We can feel a renewed sense of security; Caphtor is Crete. If Peiser's very probable suggestion be adopted,<sup>2</sup> the Assyrian Nusisi, mentioned on a text of Esarhaddon discovered at Assur, and published by Messerschmidt, is Cnossus, the old capital of Crete; Chapman's identification with the Peloponnesus is improbable.<sup>3</sup> Anami would seem to represent Cyrene, which is very near Crete; moreover the 'Anamīm (note the Hamitic *y*) are mentioned just before the Libyans of Marmarica, between Cyrene, modern Tripoli, and Egypt.

It has been suggested, among others by Sir Arthur Evans, that our passage implies the African origin of the Cretans, but no archaeologist or anthropologist working without bias has been able to find more concrete basis for this extraordinary hypothesis. The Biblical writer may have had some such theory in his mind, like the Greek speculation regarding the Egyptian origin of their own culture, but there is a much more natural explanation. In surveying the different peoples in Egypt and the adjoining territory, he noted the Cretan and Lydo-Carian military colonists, and supposed that they were related to the Egyptians in race. The Kaftōrīm, or Kretīm, had been on the northeastern frontier, and perhaps elsewhere, for many centuries; the Anatolian mercenaries appear in Greek sources as Carians, but in Hebrew as Lydians (so unquestionably in Jer. 46 9 and Ez. 30 5, both of the sixth century. Though the Lydo-Carians first appear under Psammetichus II., they must have been employed as mercenaries much earlier.

<sup>1</sup> See *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*, Vol. VI, pp. 69–75. It may be observed, in this connection, that Wainwright's archaeological arguments against the identification of the *Kftyw* with the Cretans are sound; *Kftyw*, however, is not the same word as *Kaftôr*, though perhaps combined with it by popular etymology, but is an Egyptian appellative, meaning "strangers," or "barbarians," from the verb *kf*, "to ward off," and is thus a parallel formation to *Hftyw*, "foes," and *Yentyw*, "enemies." The term was early specialized to designate "northern barbarians," and thus included the Cretans, along with other Mediterranean peoples.

<sup>2</sup> See OLZ, XIV, 475, and XV, 246.

<sup>3</sup> See OLZ, XV, 59, and XVI, 347–349.

It is hardly likely that there is any intimate connection between the Philistines and the Cretans, aside from the fact that they both came from Crete. In my paper, "A Revision of Early Hebrew Chronology," I have shown philological reason for identifying the Philistines with the Pelasgians; the historical and archaeological argument has convinced many, despite the philological difficulty. For the Pelasgians, Crete was merely a station on their career of conquest, but though many of them migrated again from Crete at the time of the Achæan invasion, we still find them on the island in the age of Homer. In a famous passage of the *Odyssey* the poet says (7, 175): that there were five peoples, all speaking different tongues, on the island,—Achæans, Eteocretans, Cydonians, Dorians, and Pelasgians. Of these we may safely identify the Eteocretans, or "true" Cretans, Cretan aborigines, with the Caphtorim, or Cherethites. Greek tradition, based on Cretan sources, derives the Iapygians, or Messapians, as well as the Lycians, from Crete; the little known of the language spoken by the Messapians of southeastern Italy shows it to have been nearly the same as Lycian (*e. g.*, the Messapian genitive suffix *aihi* and *ihî* is identical with the Lycian *ahi*, *ehî*). Hence we may suppose that the Caphtorim spoke a dialect of the same tongue. On the other hand, we know nothing yet of the Pelasgian language. It may have been related to Lycian-Cretan-Messapian; it may belong with Hittite-Luyya (*i. e.* Lujja)-Lydian-Carian,<sup>1</sup> or with the so-called Proto-Hattian, which seems to have been the native Cappadocian tongue. It is not so likely that it belongs to the Harrian-Mitannian-Chaldian group. The renewed study of the place-names in the light of the Boghazkeui material may help somewhat, though it is not alone enough to settle the affiliations of the Pelasgian language and people. For this we may have to wait until the decipherment of the Cretan inscriptions, begun

<sup>1</sup> The Hittite and Lydo-Carian proper-names are closely related, and Forrer (*Die acht Sprachen der Boghazköi-Inschriften*, Berlin, 1919) has shown that the two languages are related; cf. esp. p. 1035. Forrer's Luvian should be however, Luyyan, as Hrozný has pointed out (*Über die Völker und Sprachen des alten Chatti-landes*, Leipzig, 1920, p. 39). One can hardly doubt that Greek Ludia and Hittite Luyya, whose inhabitants speak essentially the same language, and worship the same god Sandon, are identical; the native form of the name may have been *Lujja* (*i. e.*, *Ludžža*).



auspiciously by Evans and Sundwall, is completed. The Palestinian archaeologist may contribute by exploring the mounds under which lie buried the remains of the civilization transplanted to Palestine by the Cretan, Pelasgian, and Sicilian colonists.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> This long-desired task has now been begun by the Palestine Exploration Fund, under the very competent direction of Garstang and Phythian-Adams, now at work (May, 1921) in the Philistine strata of Ashkelon. In this connection the writer wishes to express his indebtedness to Mr. Phythian-Adams, since it was under the stimulus of his keen and independent criticism of current views that the foregoing paper grew.

## METHEG HA-AMMAH

By S. TOLKOWSKY

וַיְהִי אֶחָד־בָּנָיו וַיִּקַּח דָּוִד אֶת־פִּלְשְׁתִּים וַיִּבְנֶיהֶם  
וַיִּקַּח דָּוִד אֶת־מֶתֶג הָאִמָּה מִיַּד פִּלְשְׁתִּים  
(2 Samuel 8 1)

**F**EW passages of the Bible have caused greater difficulty to translators and commentators than the present one. This is how *Hasting's Dictionary of the Bible* (1900) summarises the various renderings proposed:

AV and RVm in 2 S. 8 1 "David took Metheg-ammah (מתג האמה) out of the hand of the Philistines." AVm has "the bridle of the mother city." This last rendering is pronounced to be "probable" by Driver (*Text of Sam.*), who points out (see his references) that **אם** has the sense of *mother city* or *capital* in Phoenician. "The bridle of the mother city" would mean the authority of the metropolis or capital of the Philistines, namely Gath (so Ges., Keil, Stade). Budde (in *SBOT*) makes various objections to this, and leaves the expression blank in his Heb. text as irrecoverably corrupt. The LXX reads *τῆν ἀφωρισμένην*, which *may*, according to Wellhausen, imply a reading מתגרשה. Wellh. himself (*Sam.* 174) emends to גַּת הָאִמָּה "Gath the mother city," comparing 1 Ch 18 1 גַּת וּבְנוֹתֶיהָ ("Gath and her daughter towns"), which he argues may have arisen from the text he postulates in Samuel. Klostermann attempts to obtain from the two texts (of S. and Ch.) אֶת־גַּת יָמָה "Gath and her border to the west." Thenius emends to מֶתֶג הַמָּדָה "bridle of tribute," *i. e.* "David laid the Philistines under tribute." Löhr despairs of recovering either the meaning or the text. Cheyne (*Expos. Times*, Oct. 1899, p. 48) emends to הָיִם אֶת־אֲשְׁדֹד "Ashdod, the city of the sea." Sayce (*EHH*, 414n)

suggests that **מֶתֶג הָאֲמָה** is the Heb. transcription of the Bab. *mētēg ammati* (for *mētēg ammati*) = "the highroad of the mainland" of Palestine. The reference would thus be to the command of the highroad of trade which passed through Canaan from Asia to Egypt and Arabia; but the appearance of such distinctly Babylonian words in Hebrew of this date is extremely improbable.

(Cf. *HDB* s. v. 'Metheg Ammah').

The most natural translation of this verse would be the literal one, viz. "the bridle of the cubit," according to the usual translation of **מֶתֶג**.

The particle **אֵת** in **אֵת מֶתֶג הָאֲמָה** denotes that **מֶתֶג** must be the name of a definite kind of object well known to the public. This object stands in some connection to the cubit (**אֲמָה**), the unit of measurement common in the country at the time of the compiler of the Second Book of Samuel; if it referred to any other cubit than that commonly used at the time the writer would have defined it and would not have called it, in a matter-of-course way, *the* cubit. Furthermore the object described as "**מֶתֶג** of the cubit" must have been of great importance in the eyes of the Hebrews. This is evidenced by the following two facts. 1. The action of taking the **מֶתֶג הָאֲמָה** out of the hand of Philistines was considered by the author of the passage worthy of being recorded in history. 2. The taking away of it is represented as the only lasting result of a victorious campaign, for **וַיִּכְנְעוּם** does not necessarily mean placing the vanquished people under permanent subjection; indeed David's campaign partakes rather of the character of a raid than of that of a regular war, and in contradistinction to what is claimed about the Moabites, the author does not pretend that the Philistines became tributary to David. The net result of the successful raid seems thus clearly to have been the mere carrying away of the **מֶתֶג הָאֲמָה**. The conclusion seems therefore justified that the **מֶתֶג הָאֲמָה** was something of very great importance to the Hebrews. On the other hand it cannot have been considered of very great importance by the Philistines, for otherwise they would certainly have taken steps to recover it; as a matter of fact it is never mentioned again. It may be noted in this connection that the translation "David took the Metheg-ha-Ammah out of the hand of the Philistines" may convey a wrong impression; the Hebrew text

מִיַּד פְּלִשְׁתִּים may simply mean "out of the hand of Philistines," a rendering which would accentuate again the unimportance of the object in question to the Philistines. As to the nature of the מתג itself, it seems certain that it was a movable object, such as could be easily taken hold of and carried away in the course of a rapid raid.

What is the meaning of מתג? The word is used five times only in the Bible, viz. in 2 S. 8 1 (the passage under consideration), 2 K. 19 28, Is. 37 29, Prov. 26 3, and Ps. 32 9. In all these passages it is translated "bridle." Rabbi David Kīmhī defines מתג as follows: "the long iron which is put into the mouth of the animal to guide it, and it is what is called in the vernacular פֶּרִין, and it is similar to a רֶסֶן but is not made after the same pattern." Now, the word פֶּרִין of Kīmhī (= *frein*) is the French name for our "bar bit;" and according to his description he has in view more particularly the very plainest pattern of a bar bit, the one which the French call *mors troyen* (= Trojan bit), and which is the typical bit used by the ancient chariot drivers, as illustrated for instance on the



מתג

Egyptian monuments. On the other hand the רֶסֶן is nothing other than the "ring bit" used to this day in Palestine and the East for saddle horses; its shape is quite different and more complicated. רֶסֶן occurs four times in the Bible, viz. in Is. 30 28, Ps. 32 9, and Job 30 11 and 41 5. It will be observed that the earliest mention of the bit in any of its two forms occurs in the passage now being dealt with, a fact which can only be explained on the assumption that the Hebrews possessed no horses before that time; indeed the earliest mention of the use of the horse by them occurs precisely in the Second Book of Samuel, and in the very same chapter, verse 4, where it is shown that David began its use by reserving one hundred captured chariots with their horses; in 2 Sam. 15 1 we further learn that "Absalom prepared him chariots and horses." The Philistines however had horses and chariots as the most important part of their military equipment, and it is only natural to assume that it is from them that the Hebrews first acquired the knowledge of the bit and that they called it by the same name by which the Philistines used to call it. The word מתג would thus be a foreign word, which seems to accord with the fact that there is in the



Hebrew language no other word of the same root. We are thus safe in assuming that **מתג** was the name by which the Philistines used to call the particular bit used by their chariot drivers and that it had the shape of a plain iron bar. I am also tempted to believe that they used the same word for any iron bar in general; even in the Bible **מתג** seems to occur once with the meaning of a bar or rod, viz. in the parallelism contained in Prov. 26 3: "a whip for the horse, a **מתג** for the ass, and a rod for the fool's back." I therefore translate **את מתג האמה** "the iron rod of the cubit." Accepting the arguments above set forth, I deduce that David in the course of his raid over the Philistine border got hold of a certain iron rod which was well known to the Hebrew public at the time of the composition of the Second Book of Samuel as standing in some definite relation to the ell or cubit commonly used in their time. It may be noted in this connexion that, according to 1 Chr. 22 3, David "prepared iron in abundance for the nails of the doors of the gates (of the Temple), and for the joinings."

Now, what could have been the exact nature of the "iron rod of the cubit" which David brought back from his raid into the Philistine country? If we accept the common view that the civilisation of the Philistines was derived from Crete or the Aegean, and if we admit with H. R. Hall<sup>1</sup> that "it is to Egypt, if anywhere, that we must look for the origin of the Aegean weights and measures," we are at once led to think of the ancient ells that have been unearthed in that country. It is known that in Egypt there were two cubits: a larger one called the "royal" cubit and a smaller one called the "common" cubit; the relation between the two was as 7 : 6. Now, the ancient wooden ells unearthed in Egypt are marked with two distinct measures. On the one side the whole length of the rod is marked by an inscription as being the "royal ell," and it is divided into two half-cubits, one of which shows also the measure of one handbreadth and its four fingerbreadths. On the other side of the rod is marked the "common" ell, designated as such by an inscription; this ell is only  $\frac{6}{7}$ <sup>th</sup> of the length of the royal ell marked on the other side of the rod, and it is divided into fingerbreadths which in their turn are subdivided into  $\frac{1}{2}$ ,  $\frac{1}{3}$ ,  $\frac{1}{4}$ , and so on until  $\frac{1}{16}$ <sup>th</sup> part.

<sup>1</sup> See H. R. Hall: *Aegean Archaeology*, London 1915, p. 232.

of a fingerbreadth. It is clear that we have here not merely a comparison of the two ells used in Egypt, but the systematic and legal subdivision of the larger royal ell whose length is equal to seven handbreadths of the common ell.<sup>1</sup> Both cubits were used in Egypt at the same time; but whilst the larger one, the royal ell, was more particularly used for building purposes, the smaller common ell, with its subsidiary divisions, was in all probability used for more delicate work and for measuring goods and other objects the size of which was to be determined with a greater amount of precision. For the same reason—greater precision—it seems likely that with the advance of civilisation the common ell should gradually displace the older and less precise royal ell; perhaps that is the reason of its designation as “common.” Now, if the Philistines had received, directly or indirectly, from Egypt their weights and measures, there is every likelihood—since they were the immediate neighbours of that country—that they also borrowed from it rods of the ell similar to those which we have just described, or at least the idea of such ells, and it is not unreasonable to suppose that David, who is stated to have lived for years as a refugee in the Philistine country, must have seen such rods there and must have had occasion to convince himself of their superiority, as an instrument of measure, over the primitive method, used in his native country, of measuring “after a cubit of a man” (באמת איש Dt. 3<sup>11</sup>).

I thus believe that the *מתג האמה* which David brought back from his raid was neither more nor less than an exact reproduction in iron of the wooden ells which existed in Egypt. And now we shall understand why the historian considered the bringing home of this trophy sufficiently important to deserve specific mention in the book. Previous to David the Hebrews had been a collection of disunited and sometimes mutually hostile tribes; it was he who welded them together and made them into an organised state. During his stay in the Philistine country David had had the opportunity of convincing himself of the importance attached, in any well organised state, to the completest possible uniformity in measures of weight and length and therefore to the possession of accurate standards of these measures. It is thus only natural to suppose that, as soon as his kingdom

<sup>1</sup> See F. Hultsch: *Griechische und Römische Metrologie*, Berlin 1882. pp. 350 ff.

was consolidated and its organisation had reached some degree of perfection, he should have felt the wish to set up a legal standard, if possible recognised already by other well organised nations, and by which should be determined the exact length of the cubit and its subdivisions on the "measuring-lines," "measuring-rods" and "measuring-sticks" used throughout his kingdom. For the manufacture of such standards one generally chooses a material which is subject to little alteration; in olden times iron was largely used for the purpose (*cf.* in England the "Iron Ulne of our Lord the King"-Edward I.) It was a common custom with the ancients to deposit the standards of their weights and measures either in the palaces of their kings or in their sanctuaries. We are justified in supposing that in strict accordance with this general custom David, once he had secured the *מתג האמה* from the Philistines, kept it first in his palace or fortress and later directed it to be placed for safe custody in the Temple that was to be built. For we learn from 1 Chron. 23 26-29 that "by the last words of David" the Levites were appointed "to wait on the sons of Aaron . . . for all manner of measure and size;" the Talmud also (*Men.* 98*a*) refers to two ells mentioned as having been kept in the hall *Šušana* of the Temple.

We have already pointed out that the ells which have been found in Egypt had both the royal and the common ell marked on them; and if my assumption that the *מתג האמה* was an exact copy of these ells is right, the Hebrews may have got from it first hand acquaintance of both these measures. In strict accordance with the Egyptian precedent it was to be expected that the larger "royal" ell should be used by Solomon in building the Temple; and that in the course of time, as civilisation in the kingdom progressed and a more accurate measure became necessary, the larger ell should give way to the smaller one with its more minute subdivisions, so that after a certain time this smaller ell became the "common" ell while the older "royal" ell ceased altogether to be used. That this really was the case is evident from Ezekiel 40 5 and 43 13, as well as from 2 Chron. 3 3. "Ezekiel implies that in his measurement of the Temple . . . the ell was one handbreadth larger than the ell commonly used in his time . . . The fact that Ezekiel measured the Temple by a special ell is comprehensible and significant only on the assumption that this ell was also the standard of measurement of the old Temple of

Solomon. This is confirmed by the statement of the Chronicler that the Temple of Solomon was built according "to cubits after the first measure" (2 Chron. 3 3), implying that a larger ell was used at first, and that this was supplanted in the course of time by a smaller one."<sup>1</sup> And the Talmud (Men. 98a) says again: "Why were two (ells) necessary?—One for silver and gold and one for building purposes."

The translation of *מתג האמה* by "the iron rod of the cubit," as now suggested, seems therefore to be very reasonable. Moreover the importance attributed by the author of the Second Book of Samuel to the acquisition of this iron *standard* rod appears to be fully justified by the functions which that iron rod came to play subsequently in the economic life of the Hebrew state. Accordingly, so far from being "in all probability corrupt beyond restoration" I venture to think that the Hebrew text of 2 Samuel 8 1 has been transmitted to us in its original purity.

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<sup>1</sup> See *Jewish Encyclopedia*, art. "Weights and Measures."



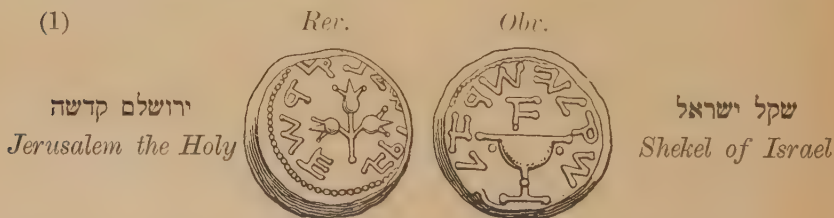
## CLASSIFICATION OF JEWISH COINS

SAMUEL RAFFAELI

(JERUSALEM)

THERE is still much indecision in the classification of certain of the Jewish coins. G. F. Hill, for example, is inclined to attribute the "thick shekels" to the First Jewish Revolt (66—70 A. D.), but confesses that their date can only be a matter of conjecture.<sup>1</sup> He allots to the same period the two small bronze coins bearing the legends שנת שנים חרות ציון (Year two, freedom of Zion) and שנת שלוש חרות ציון (Year three, freedom of Zion); while to Simon Maccabeus who first issued Jewish coins he attributes only the Fourth Year bronze coins. The present writer ventures to traverse these views,<sup>2</sup> and submits the following scheme of classification.

Simon Maccabeus succeeded his brother Jonathan in 143 B. C. (1 Macc. 13 s), and in the third year of his reign (141 B. C.) received



that historic letter from Antiochus VII. (Sidetes) who wrote: "And I give thee leave to coin money for thy country with thine own stamp, and Jerusalem and the sanctuary shall be free" (1 Macc. 15 7).

<sup>1</sup> G. F. Hill, *A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum. Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Palestine*. London, 1914.

<sup>2</sup> See *P. E. F. Quarterly Statement*, Jan. 1915; and S. Raffaeli, *מטבעות היהודים*, Jerusalem, 1913.

Elul 141 B. C. to Nisan 140 B. C. was the first year in which these coins were issued, and so we find the silver shekel with the letter **ס** on obverse for the Year One, and also the half-shekel with the letter **ס** on obverse (*Fig. 1 and 2*).



These were struck during the third year of Simon Maccabeus, being the first year in which these coins were issued.

Attributable to this same year are the larger bronze coins with the legends: *Year one of the redemption of Israel* and *Simon prince of Israel*.



(5)

Rev.

Obv.

(As above.)



(As above.)

It is questionable whether any other Jewish ruler would have assumed the title of *Simon prince of Israel* but Simon Maccabeus. When he succeeded his brother he proclaimed himself an independent ruler, and no vassal to the king of Syria, Demetrius II.; and the historian (1 Macc. 13 41) writes: "The yoke of the heathen was taken away from Israel, and the people of Israel began to write in their instruments and contracts 'In the first year of Simon the great high priest and captain and leader of the Jews'."

In the Second Year (Nisan 140 to Nisan 139 B. C.) silver shekels and half-shekels were issued with inscriptions similar to those of the First Year silver coins, but bearing on the obverse the letters ש ב for the year two:

(6)

Rev.

Obv.

ירושלים הקדושה  
*Jerusalem the Holy*



שקל ישראל  
*Shekel of Israel*

(7)

Rev.

Obv.

ירושלים הקדושה  
*Jerusalem the Holy*



חצי השקל  
*The half-shekel*

Bronze coins also were issued in this year:

(8)

Rev.

Obv.

שב לחר ישראל  
*Year two of the  
freedom of Israel*



שמעון נשיא ישראל  
*Simon prince of  
Israel*

(9)

*Rev.*
*Obv.*

שנת שתיים

*Year two*


חרת ציון

*Freedom of Zion*

For the Third Year (Nisan 139 to Nisan 138 B. C.) we have silver shekels and half-shekels inscribed as before, but with the letters ש ג for the year three:

(10)

*Rev.*
*Obv.*

שקל ישראל

*Shekel of Israel*


ירושלים הקדושה

*Jerusalem the Holy*

(11)

*Rev.*
*Obv.*

תצי השקל

*The half-shekel*


ירושלים הקדושה

*Jerusalem the Holy*

Also a small bronze coin:

(12)

*Rev.*
*Obv.*

שנת שלוש

*Year three*


חרות ציון

*Freedom of Zion*

and the only silver quarter-shekel.

For the Fourth Year (Nisan 138 to Nisan 137 B. C.) there are similar silver shekels and half-shekels with the letters ש ד for the year four:

(13)

*Rev.*
*Obv.*

ירושלים הקדושה

*Jerusalem the Holy*


שקל ישראל

*Shekel of Israel*



(14)

Rev.

Obv.

ירושלים הקדושה  
*Jerusalem the Holy*



חצי השקל  
*The half-shekel*

(15)

Rev.

Obv.

ד . . . .  
... (year) four



רבע השקל  
*The quarter-shekel*

And also bronze coins:

(16)

Rev.

Obv.

לגאולת ציון  
*Of the redemption  
of Zion*



שנת ארבע  
*Year four*

(17)

Rev.

Obv.

שנת ארבע רביע  
*Year four;  
quarter*



לגאולת ציון  
*Of the redemption  
of Zion*

(18)

Rev.

Obv.

שנת ארבע חצי  
*Year four;  
half*



לגאולת ציון  
*Of the redemption  
of Zion*

Why these last two bronze coins are inscribed רביע (quarter) and חצי (half), is not fully known. Some have thought that these were quarter-shekels and half-shekels issued in bronze instead of silver; but now

that half-shekels and quarter-shekels of the fourth year have been found of silver, some other explanation is necessary.

Simon died in the winter of 135 B. C. in the month Shebat, and therefore was still able to issue coins of the Fifth Year (Nisan 137 to Nisan 136 B. C.). To this year is attributable the only silver shekel with the letters  $\eta \psi$  for the year five:

(19)

Rev.

Obr.

ירושלים הקדושה  
*Jerusalem the Holy*



שקל ישראל  
*Shekel of Israel*

Until the actual discovery of such a coin it is not possible to assert that coins were issued during Simon's last year. But it seems certain enough that he was responsible for annual coinages during the five successive years which followed the permission of Antiochus VII.

The theory that these coins could have been issued during the First Revolt (from Elul 66 to Ab 70 A. D.) cannot be accepted, since not only could there not have been five years' coinage, but not even four years in full.

The Jews thus issued coins only during two periods, periods 260 years apart. The first was by Simon Maccabeus; the second by Bar Kokhba who secured a temporary independence in the time of Hadrian. In both the purpose was to proclaim the entire liberty of the land and people; and just as Simon Maccabeus stamped his coins with the legends *Freedom of Zion*, *Freedom of Israel*, *Redemption of Zion*, *Redemption of Israel*, so did Bar Kokhba make use of such expressions as *The Redemption of Jerusalem*, *Freedom of Israel*, *Freedom of Jerusalem*. The Jews had little cause to inscribe coins with *The Freedom of Zion* such time as Zion was hemmed in by Vespasian and Titus.

The first period of coins bearing Hebrew characters ended with Mattathias Antigonus; and the second began with Bar Kokhba's revolt. The coins of this second period were issued under the titles שמעון (Simon), ירושלם (Jerusalem), and אלעזר הכהן (Eleazar the Priest).

Coins in silver and bronze were uttered in three series:

- (1) לחרות ירושלם Of the freedom of Jerusalem.
- (2) שנת אחת לגאלת ישראל The first year of the redemption of Israel.
- (3) שב לחר ישראל The second year of the freedom of Israel.

Between these two periods, the Herod family and the Roman Procurators from Cuponius to Antonius Felix issued coins stamped with Latin and Greek legends, but no coins appeared in Hebrew characters.

## POLITICAL PARTIES IN SYRIA AND PALESTINE (QAISÎ AND YEMENÎ)<sup>1</sup>

E. N. HADDAD  
(JERUSALEM)

THE customs of this country are transmitted orally, from father to son, and not through the medium of writing. In the past few decades European civilization has entered the country, and though, for the sake of the progress of my native land, I am one of its admirers and supporters, I cannot but be filled with regret at the disappearance of the customs which bring so close to us the spirit and the meaning of the Bible. The peasant of today still preserves a great number of primitive customs, just as the plough of today is nearly like the plough employed by the Israelites.

Every visitor to Palestine regards it as a hot-bed of party strife and fanaticism. But it is, in large part, political rather than religious. While there was religious prejudice between the different communities, as in Europe, even the hostility between Muslims and Christians was basically political, under the veil of religion. The Turkish government saw a danger in its Christian subjects, because it knew that they looked for protection to the Christian nations of Europe. The Turkish authorities therefore welcomed and fostered religious fanaticism on the one hand, and party strife on the other, in order to prevent the union of the Arabs, whom they feared, because they were in the majority in Syria.

Two very old, and still clearly defined political parties exist, once spread over the whole of Syria—the Qaisî and the Yemenî,<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> I wish to express here my indebtedness to Dr. W. F. Albright, of the American School of Oriental Research, for help and encouragement in connection with this paper.

<sup>2</sup> فيسي ويمني



consisting of members of every religion and sect. In the days of Ottoman weakness, the Turks followed the principle, "Divide and rule,"<sup>1</sup> and supported each party in turn. With the increasing strength of the central government during the last century, their power gradually disappeared, until there are now only vestiges left. Until a short time ago, all local political authority was in their hands in Syria proper, and in Palestine it remained so until less than fifty years ago. Their chiefs are still influential here, though almost stripped of actual power.

One may ask a peasant about the history of the Qaisî and Yemenî, and receive an answer in either of two forms. One will say that the history of the two parties began a long time ago, "and God knows best." Others will tell the story of their origin, but no two accounts agree. Among these traditions is one recounted by Ismâ'il Mûsâ Hammûdî, former chief mukhtar of Liftâ, one of the men most renowned for hospitality around Jerusalem. He has a guest-house in his own residence, southwest of the Syrian Orphanage, kept at his own expense. He says:—In the time of Husein ibn-'Alî ibn-Abû Tâlib, the Arabs quarreled over the Caliphate. The people of Kûfa and 'Irâq recognized Husein as Caliph, and he accompanied them from Medina to 'Irâq to fight with Yezîd ibn-Mo'âwiyah, the second 'Ommeyyad caliph. When Husein reached Kerbelâ and Kûfa, his men betrayed their covenant with him, and the men of Yezîd\* killed Husein and his followers, and carried Husein's head on a lance. Afterwards the men of Yezîd returned from 'Irâq to their capital, Damascus, the residence of Caliph Yezîd, but during their journey the Bedawîn attacked them and defeated them. Then a division arose; the men of Yezîd became the Qaisî and the men of Husein the Yemenî. From that time the rule was in the hands of the chiefs, and the Yemenî, for instance, when there was war against them in Palestine, were assisted by the Yemenî from other districts.<sup>2</sup>

Palestinians have never tried to write the history of these two parties, but the Libanese have written about it in a number of books. For instance, the Sheikh Nâsîf el-Yâzîjî,<sup>3</sup> in his work *Majma' el-Bahrein*,

<sup>1</sup> فَرَّقَ تَسَدَّ

<sup>2</sup> This, like most Arab historical traditions, has an obvious ultimate literary source (W. F. A.).

<sup>3</sup> الشيخ ناصيف اليازجي

in the forty-first *maqâmah*, entitled *et-Tihâmîyeh*, says:—Qais was a man of the Benî 'Adnân between whom and a man of the Benî Qaḥṭân called Yemen there was a quarrel. Each of them founded a party,<sup>1</sup> and war arose between them. The division spread to the sedentary Arabs, as well as to the Arabs of the Hījāz and Yemen. The people of Ḥumṣ are of the Yemenite party, and there was only a single Qaisî among them, who was very much despised, until he became proverbial of contempt. For this reason the Arab proverb says, "More despised than the Qaisî of Ḥumṣ."<sup>2</sup>

There was regular, organized warfare between the two parties, as all testimonies inform us. Little is known regarding these events in Palestine, but we have many witnesses to them in Syria.

In 1633 there was war between the Qaisî and the Yemenî; the former were led by the Amîr Milḥem, son of the Amîr Yûnis el-Ma'nî,<sup>3</sup> and the latter by the Amîr 'Alî 'Alam ed-Dîn.<sup>4</sup> The Qaisî defeated their opponents at Mejdal Ma'ûš.<sup>5</sup> In 1636 the Amîr 'Alî 'Alam ed-Dîn, the Yemenite, rebelled against the Turkish government, and retreated before the Turks and their Qaisî allies toward Kesrawân,<sup>6</sup> where the latter defeated him, and compelled him to retire to 'Akkâr,<sup>7</sup> north of the Lebanon.

In 1660 there was a general war between the Turks and the Qaisî, who were led by the Amîrs 'Alî eş-Šihâbî, Maṣṣûr eş-Šihâbî,<sup>8</sup> the sheikhs of Hîmâdeh,<sup>9</sup> and others. The Yemenites took part on the Turkish side under the leadership of the Amîr 'Alî 'Alam ed-Dîn, and his two sons, the Amîrs Moḥammed and Maṣṣûr, with their confederates Ibn eş-Šahyûnî<sup>10</sup> and the Muqaddam<sup>11</sup> 'Alî eş-Šâ'ir.<sup>12</sup> The Qaisî were defeated. Four years later war recommenced

1 عصابة

2 اذل من قيسي حمص

3 الامير ملحم ابن الامير يونس المعني

4 الامير علي علم الدين

5 متجدل معوش

6 كسروان

7 عكار

8 الامير علي الشهابي ومنصور الشهابي

9 مشايخ الحماة

10 ابن الصليوني

11 Rank between Amîr and Sheikh.

12 علي الشاعر

in Syria and the Lebanon between the Qaisî and the Yemenî, and continued for two years, until the Qaisî were victorious. In the year 1667 there was a battle at Burj Beirût<sup>1</sup> near Ghalghûl<sup>2</sup> between the two parties.<sup>3</sup>

In these wars no attention was paid to religion, but merely to party affiliations. When the Turkish government fought one party it received the help of the other. The men of each party in the north received aid from their copartizans in the south and east when it became necessary. The distinction between Qaisî and Yemenî has almost disappeared in Syria, and in many districts no one knows of the former party rivalry. While the Qaisî and the Yemenî have vanished from the Lebanon, we still find remnants of the two parties Yezbekî and Junblâtî,<sup>4</sup> which date from 1762, originating in a quarrel between the Amîr Mañşûr and his brother Aḥmad, in the time of the Amîr Miḥem. The first leader of the Junblâtî was the Sheikh 'Alî Junblât, from whom they received their name, while the first Yezbekî leader was Sheikh 'Abd es-Salâm. Between the two parties systematic warfare was carried on, and when the struggle between them grew intense, the rivalry between Qaisî and Yemenî disappeared. In the southern part of the Lebanon, the leadership of the Yezbekî is now in the hands of the Arslan family in 'Ain E'nûb, and of the Junblâtî with the Junblât family in Muḥtarah. Both families are Druse.<sup>5</sup>

The principal leaders of the Yemenî in Palestine come from the family Abû Ghôš in the village of Abû Ghôš (Qaryet el-'Inab),<sup>6</sup> who are chiefs of their party in the *liwâ* of Jerusalem. Among the

<sup>1</sup> برج ببيروت

<sup>2</sup> غلغول

<sup>3</sup> The foregoing material has been taken from different parts of the *History of Syria* by Yûsuf ed-Dibs, archbishop of the Maronites in Beirût. Similar accounts are found in the work of the Maronite and Libanese patriarch, Istifânus ed-Duweihî, entitled *Kitâb ed-Duweihî*.

<sup>4</sup> ييزبكي وجنبلاطي

<sup>5</sup> Yûsuf ed-Dibs, *History of Syria*. Part IV, Vol. VII, p. 1930. Butrus Bustânî states, *Encyclopaedia*, s. v. *Janbulat*: In the year 1777 the Amîr Yûsuf es-Sihâbî stirred up a rebellion in the southern Lebanon by imposing taxes. The rebels were supported by the Sheikh 'Abd es-Salâm el-'Imâd, and became the Yezbekî party. The other, larger party passed under the leadership of the Sheikh 'Alî, and became the Junblâtî.

<sup>6</sup> ابو غوش

chiefs of the Qaisî are the family of 'Azzah<sup>1</sup> in the hill-country of Gaza, Ibn Simhân<sup>2</sup> in Tell eṣ-Şâfî,<sup>3</sup> and the family Derwîş<sup>4</sup> in Mâlḥa.<sup>5</sup>

The Bedawin are divided into two parties, under the same designation, Qaisî and Yemenî, also. Among the principal sheikhs of the Yemenî is Ḥumâd eṣ-Şûfî, and the tribes under his leadership: in the district of Gaza the Tayâha, the Ṭarâbîn, the 'Azâzme, the Ḥanâjre, the Oḥeidât; in the Ghôr the 'Edwân; in Kerak the Majâlî.<sup>6</sup> The sheikhs of the Qaisî are from the Benî Şaḥr,<sup>7</sup> and the tribes under their leadership: the Šarârât, east of the Belqa; the Benî 'Aṭiya, south of Kerak; the Benî Ḥumeida between Kerak and the Belqa.<sup>8</sup>

In Jerusalem the headship of the Qaisî is in the hands of the Ḥâldî<sup>9</sup> family, of the Yemenî with the Ḥuseinî.<sup>10</sup> There are still traces of the old party rivalry; when the peasants get into trouble with the Government, or find themselves in pecuniary difficulty, they resort for help to the patrons of their respective parties. In nearly every village there are members of both parties. In some districts most of the inhabitants belong to one faction, as for example in the district of Hebron, where the majority is Qaisî. In Bêt Jâlâ most are Qaisî; in Bethlehem, on the other hand, most are Yemenî. In Şôba all are Yemenî, and in 'Ain Kârem<sup>11</sup> all are Qaisî.

The Yemenite flag is white, and for this reason their garments are usually of this colour. The Qaisî flag is red, and their garments are therefore mostly red. Everyone is free to wear either colour except the bride, and in many places they observe the distinction between the colours only in the case of the bride. When a Qaisî woman marries a Qaisî or a Yemenî she wears the Qaisî colour, but

<sup>1</sup> العزة

<sup>2</sup> ابن سمحان

<sup>3</sup> تل الصافي

<sup>4</sup> درويش

<sup>5</sup> ملح

<sup>6</sup> التياهة والطرايين والعزازمة والخناجرة والوحيديات والعدوان والماتجالي

<sup>7</sup> بني صخر

<sup>8</sup> الشرارات وبني عطية وبني حميدة

<sup>9</sup> الخالدي

<sup>10</sup> الحسيني

<sup>11</sup> عين كارم



when the procession passes a Yemenî quarter, or a Yemenî village, the bride must hide her red garments with a cloak of any hue not either red or white. The case of a Yemenî bride is similar. If the bride wears her own bridal colour in passing a village or a quarter of the opposite party, it is considered as great a disgrace for the latter as if she had raised her own banner in their territory. In the past, the fact that a bride has worn the colour of her own party in the territory of the other has often been the cause of conflicts. Otherwise, they always live in peace, except when there has been a quarrel between individuals of the two parties. If Yemenî are invited by members of the Qaisî party to be their guests, the latter are expected to put honey or syrup<sup>1</sup> over the *haiṭaliyeh*,<sup>2</sup> a dish made of starch, sugar, and milk, to cover its white colour, which is the colour of the Yemenî flag.

Ismâ'il Hammûdi told me that he saw in Bire,<sup>3</sup> not long before the War, a fight between the Qaisî and the Yemenî. Each party tried to dishonour the flag of the other party, and the women also took sides. The Yemenî women took a red cock, and beat him before the Qaisî women, as a sign of contempt for the banner of the latter. The Qaisî women at once caught a white cock and beat him before their opponents.

The Hajj Mohammed el-Makhal<sup>4</sup> from 'Aizariyeh<sup>5</sup> told me the following story. A Qaisî woman from the Hebron region once placed a number of eggs under a hen. On hatching, all the chickens were white. When the woman saw this she said, "This may mean calamity, because they may turn out to be Yemenî soldiers." So, to make sure that she was safe, she buried them in the ground.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> دبس

<sup>2</sup> هيطلية

<sup>3</sup> البيرة

<sup>4</sup> الحاج محمد المكحل

<sup>5</sup> العيزرية

<sup>6</sup> The literature on the Qaisî and the Yemenî in Palestine is still very limited. Beside stray references to the subject in the works of various European writers, especially Baldensperger, we seem to have only the historical material published by Macalister and Masterman (*Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly*, 1905, 343 ff.; 1906, 33-50). These accounts were translated from native Arabic MSS, inspired and gathered by the Rev. John Zeller, one of the earlier Protestant missionaries in Palestine (W.F.A.).

## NOTES AND COMMUNICATIONS

**D**ES erreurs très fâcheuses se sont glissées dans la note relative à l'inscription juive d'Ain Douk (Vol. 1, pp. 33—35). Les corrections suivantes s'imposent:

p. 34, l. 10, lire: *la lettre י après פ*. Il s'agirait du nom פִּינְסָה au lieu de פִּנְחָם que certains savants lisent פִּרְנָסָה. Seulement la forme de la seconde lettre et les deux pieds qui restent de la dernière lettre et qui rappellent plutôt une ה, s'y opposeraient. La leçon פִּנְסָה nous semble être fournie par une inscription lue dans un tombeau de Jérusalem que M. Ben Zevi publie dans le recueil de la "Jewish Palestine Exploration Society" No. 1.

p. 35: אֶתְרָה קְדִישָׁה = Lieu saint. Cette formule ne se retrouve pas dans le *Kaddish* (comme on l'avait fait observer pendant la discussion, mais dans le *Zohar*, que est de date postérieure. Pour l'époque où nous en sommes (vers le troisième siècle) elle confirmerait l'opinion du R. P. Vincent concernant le caractère sacré très ancien du sanctuaire en question.

NAHUM SLOUSCH



## REPORTS OF MEETINGS

**T**HE Third General Meeting of the Society was held at the British Archaeological School on Wednesday, November 3, 1920, with the President, Père Lagrange in the Chair. At the Morning Session, commencing at 9.30 a. m. the following papers were read and discussed:—

Répétition idiomatique de la racine en hébreu

Mr. Israel Eitan.

Revision of early Hebrew Chronology

Dr. W. F. Albright.

Une inscription hébraïque trouvée à Jérusalem

Dr. Nahum Slousch.

Solomon and the Shunamite

Dr. C. C. McCown.

At the Afternoon Session, commencing at 3.30 p. m. the reports of Secretary, Treasurer and Editorial Committee were read, new Members elected, and the following officers appointed for the year 1921: Prof. John Garstang, President; Père Dhorme and Dr. W. F. Albright, Vice-Presidents; the Rev. H. Danby, Secretary; Dr. Nahum Slousch, Treasurer; and Père Orfali, Director for three years in place of the retiring Director, Père Dressaire. Mr. E. J. H. Mackay and Mr. Samuel Raffaeli were elected as Auditing Committee, and Mr. Norman Bentwich, Mr. W. J. Phythian-Adams, and the Rev. H. Danby as Committee of Arrangements.

The reading and discussion of papers was then resumed:

The British Archaeological School

Prof. J. Garstang.

Une synagogue en basalte à Khirbet-Keraze (Corozain)

Le Rév. Père Orfali.



## Notes on Palestinian Ethnology

Mr. W. J. Phythian-Adams.

## Prehistoric Palestine

Mr. L. Lind.

## Blood Revenge among the Arabs

Mr. E. N. Haddad.

## Use of Ellipsis in "Second Isaiah"

Mr. David Yellin.

## Plantes pharmaceutiques chez les Arabes

Mr. Ephraim Rubinovitch.

The Fourth General Meeting was held at the District Governorate, Jerusalem, on Wednesday, January 19, 1921, Père Dhorme taking the Chair in the absence of the President, Professor Garstang. At the Afternoon Session, commencing 2.30 p. m. the following contributions were read and discussed:

## Traditions secondaires sur la grotte de Machpélah (Hebron)

Le Rév. Père Abel.

## Political Parties in Palestine: Qaisi and Yeméni

Mr. E. N. Haddad.

## Le sacrifice dans la tribu des Fuqara

Le Rév. Père Jaussen.

## La ville de Ramsés d'après les documents égyptiens

Le Rév. Père Mallon.

At the Evening Session, beginning at 5.30 p. m. the following were read:

## The Excavations at Tiberias (with illustrations)

Dr. Nahum Slousch.

## The Melodic Theme in Ancient Hebrew Prayers (with musical examples)

Mr. A. Z. Idelson.

## Haunted Springs and Water-Demons in Palestine

Dr. T. Canaan.

## A Visit to Petra by an Englishman in 1852

Mr. L. G. A. Gust.

The Fifth General Meeting took place on Wednesday, March 30, 1921, at the Dominican Convent of St. Stephen's, with Père Dhorme in the Chair. Beginning at 3.0 p. m. the following contributions were read and discussed:

L'inscription grecque d'Ophel

Le Rév. Père Vincent.

Judicial Courts among the Bedawin

Omar Effendi Barghuti.

Byzantine Caravan Stations in the Negeb

Dr. T. Canaan.

Modern Palestinian Parallels to the Song of Songs

Mr. Hanna Stephan.

The Classification of Jewish Coins

Mr. Samuel Raffaeli.

Les maladies du pays aux temps de la Bible et du Talmud

Dr. Aaron Mazié.

Nouveautés Concernant la Flore de la Palestine

Mr. Ephraim Rubinowitch.

The Sixth General Meeting was held at the British School of Archaeology on Wednesday, May 4, 1921, in the presence of H. E. the Right Honourable Sir Herbert Samuel, High Commissioner of Palestine, and Patron of the Society. Professor Garstang gave his presidential address, taking as his subject "The Year's Work in Palestine." The following papers were then read and discussed:

Un hypogée juif à Bethphagé

Le Rév. Père Orfali.

Solomon as a Magician in Christian Legend

Dr. C. C. McCown.

Methods of Education and Correction among the Fellahin

Mr. E. N. Haddad.

Sites of Ekron, Gath and Libnah

Dr. W. F. Albright.

*The Editorial Committee desire to take this opportunity of informing readers of the Journal that criticism and comments on any of the*

*contributions included in the Journal will be welcomed and, if desirable, printed in the succeeding number, with a reply by the author of the article.*

*The Editorial Committee do not necessarily pledge themselves to issue numbers of the Journal at regular quarterly intervals. They propose to publish them, more or less frequently, at such times as the requisite material becomes available. They also propose, if the Society's funds make this possible, to undertake the publishing of more extensive monographs on subjects which come within the scope of the Society.*

*It will greatly assist in the mapping out of future work of this kind if Members will kindly be a little more punctual in the payment of their Subscriptions.*

HERBERT DANBY

(Secretary)

# REPORT OF THE TREASURER OF THE PALESTINE ORIENTAL SOCIETY

January 1920—May 30, 1921

## *Receipts*

Life subscriptions . . . . .	P.T. 9190.00
Annual subscriptions for 1920 . . . . .	17104.20
Donations to the funds of the Society . . . . .	900.00
Annual subscriptions for 1921 . . . . .	7319.00
Sale of Journal . . . . .	30.00
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	P.T. 34543.20

## *Expenditure*

Postage . . . . .	P.T. 2016.00
Stationery . . . . .	852.00
Clerical work . . . . .	218.00
Refreshments . . . . .	484.50
Nile Press, Jerusalem, printing of circulars, programmes . . . . .	2880.00
Rafael Haim ha-Cohen, printing of circulars . . . . .	680.00
Nile Press, Cairo, printing Journal, vol. 1, no. 1 . . . . .	4480.00
Nile Press, Jerusalem, printing Corrigenda slips to Journal, vol. 1, no. 1 . . . . .	100.00
Drugulin, Leipzig: advance towards printing of Journal, vol. 1, nos. 2-3 . . . . .	2200.00
Balance in hand, May 30, 1921 . . . . .	20632.70
	<hr/>
	P.T. 34543.20

NAHUM SLOUSCH

*Treasurer*

Audited, May 30, 1921, and found correct, and accompanied by the proper vouchers

SAMUEL RAFFAELI

E. J. H. MACKAY

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<sup>1</sup> This list has been corrected up to August 1, 1921. Members are asked to notify the Secretary of any change of address or any other inaccuracy.

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